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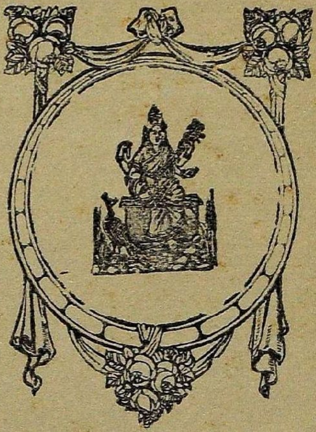

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THE CONCEPT OF KEYNOTE IN THE TAITTIRĪYA-PRĀTIŚĀKHYA

BY

C. R. SANKARAN,

Poona.

(Continued from Page 73, Vol. XIV, Part 1.)

A large number of Indo-European languages carry a strong musical accent on the syllable following the chief tone whereby a word is differentiated from another. The difference between Serb. nom. *dȕša* 'soul' and acc. *dûšu*, does not, however, merely consist in the fact that in the first case the tone rises and in the second case falls, but also on the fact that the second syllable in the first case is musically high, and in the second case is deep; and besides, their loudness is also different.

Similar is the case with Swedish where one differentiates between two accents. In the case of the second accent a musically higher tone lies on the last syllable.

This is musically higher than the accented radical syllable. H. Hirt says that the difference carries a Quint [A quint is equivalent to 13 śrutis (=702C.) *Vide*: Handbuch der Physik. Band VIII. Akustik. Kapital 9. Musikalische Tonsysteme Von E. M. V. Hornbostel, Berlin 1927, page 437. This is a strict corroboration of the fact that if *udātta* is sung on the *Niṣāda* note, the *svarita* can be sung on the *madhyama* note. *see below*].

Also in Indian, there lies on the syllable after the tone an accent different from that having the tone, namely the *svarita* as against the *anudātta*. More things can be collected from other languages.[1]

Besides the *Nebenton* is often also the tone on the syllable following the *chief-toned-syllable*; the Indians call it *svarita* and because it is quite systematically marked, it must have

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1. Cp. H. Hirt, Der Akzent, Indogermanische Grammatik. Teil V. Heidelberg 1929, pages 12-13. But "the so-called *svarita* is a syllable accent in the Indian but has nothing to do with the Indo-Germanic." cf. H. Hirt, *loc. cit.*, page 187, Section 128.

been very clearly heard. This is not surprising because such a *svarita* is found even in languages spoken to-day.

So there is in German dialects such a *Nebenton* on the syllable following the chief-tone (*Hauptton*) for example *hess. memmē*. It is also to be assumed in the west Germanic languages, because here the short vowels *i* and *u* are retained after shorter *chief-toned-syllable* (*Haupttonsibbe*).

In Swedish many words have a peculiar tone on the last syllable.

Similarly in Serbian there is quite an important difference between Nom. *dūša* and Acc. *dušu* 'Soul'.

In the first case, the second syllable lies higher than the first syllable and it has also a somewhat noticeable loudness. Therefore the first syllable must have a rising tone, in order to reach the height of the second.

In the second case, the vowel of the second syllable lies deep, and its loudness is so small that the vowel in many cases gets completely lost. In any case the loss of the vowel brings about a kind of falling tone. (*Vide* H. Hirt, Der Akzent. page 19.)

"Of the two which come in a circumflex, the first note is higher in Greek." (*Vide*: Wackernagel. Das Zeugnis der griech. Hymnen über den griech Akzent, Rhein Mus 51, 304 ff. H. Hirt, *op. cit.*, page 33.)

The *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* cites the discordant opinions of other authorities too. सर्वः प्रवण इत्येके (Taitt. Prāt. III, 47). "It is all a slide, say some."

आदिरस्योदात्तसमः शेषोऽनुदात्तसम इत्याचार्याः

(*ibid.* III, 46).

"The beginning is the same with acute; its remainder is the same with grave: so say the teachers." [Pāṇini seems to follow in his grammar only this latter school of thought. Hence is his sūtra समाहारः स्वरितः (P. I, 2, 31.)] (*Vide also* Benfey, Kurze Sanskrit Grammatik. p. 6, Section 30, 4).

"The single syllable into which the higher and lower tones are combined still retains the double pitch belonging to its constituent parts in what is technically called the *Kṣaipra* variety of *svarita*, for example, *vi* and *evá* are combined into *vyevá*.

In the *abhinihita* (or by Taitt. Prāt., *abhinihata*) variety of *svarita* too, the acute and grave tones of the constituent elements are both represented in the syllable that results from their combination, as for example *só abravīt* becomes *sò abravīt*". [*Vide* Whitney, On the Nature and Designation of the Accent in Sanskrit, pages 16-27. Transactions of the American Philological Association, 1869-'70.]

"The circumflex in Greek περισπωμένη is a combined tone." [*Vide* H. Hirt, Der Akzent, page 37.]

Porphyrios expressly says that the circumflex is combined out of acute and grave. [*Vide*: Anecdota Graeca. Vol. II, page 757, lines 15-17. Dion. Thrac., 705, 26.]

According to Misteli and Hadley, enclitic *svarita* is "middle tone". [*Vide* Misteli's article über die accentuation des griechischen in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, Vol. XVII, pages 81-134. 161-194 and Volume XIX, pages 81-103. *See also* Berichtigung (zur accentlehre) by Franz Misteli in Volume XXI of Kuhn's Zeitschrift, pages 16-17. *Cf.* Hadley, On the Nature and Theory of the Greek Accent in Transactions of the American Philological Association, 1869-70, page 11.] G. Curtius, reviewing Bopp's Accentuation system in Jahn's jahr-bücher (1855, Vol. 71), expresses the opinion that the grave accent, where it forms the second part of the circumflex, represents not the ordinary low tone of the word, but an intermediate tone in Greek. For further references on the theory of middle tone in Greek, *see* Hadley's article in Transactions of American Philological Association,1869-70, pages 9 and 10. *Compare also* Ascoli (Corsi di Glottologia etc. first part, Comparative Phonology of the Sanskrit, Greek and Latin 1877, page 15.)

Whitney says the following on this subject:—

"This seems to mean that the voice, which is borne up at the higher pitch to the end of the acute syllable, does not ordinarily drop to grave pitch by an instantaneous movement, but descends by a more or less perceptible slide in the course of the following syllable. No Hindu authority suggests the theory of a middle or intermediate tone for the enclitic, any more than for the independent circumflex. For the most part, the two are

identical with one another in treatment and designation" [Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar, Fourth edition, Section 85.]

"Whitney's opinion with regard to the enclitic *svarita,* while it denies it the name of middle tone, does, we can see, nevertheless support a kind of tone which does not lie very far removed in its nature from that middle tone in favour of which Misteli and Hadley argue" [*Vide*: Historical and Critical Remarks. Introductory to a study of Greek Accent by Maurice Bloomfield. American Journal of Philology. Volume IV. (1883), page 45.]

M. Seshagiri Sastri was also inclined to favour the view that the *svarita* occupies a somewhat middling position [*Vide* A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. Volume I, Vedic Literature. First Part 1901, pages 4 and 75. *See also* Brugmann, Grundriss English Translation. Volume I, Section 673, page 539.]

Although it may be true that in the pre-vedic period, the enclitic *svarita* might have been a middle tone, it must be certain that in the historical period its nature must be as described by the *Ṛk-Prātiśākhya* III. 4 (already quoted), for this latter tradition alone is kept up now among *Śrautis.*

It is interesting to note in this connection that in distinction to Pāṇini and *Śākala Śākhā Saṁhitā* of the *Ṛg-Veda,* the Kāṣmīr MSS. of the *Ṛg-Veda* and the *Atharva-Veda* and the grammarian Kātyāyana distinguish the independent *svarita* sharply from the *svarita* which followed an *udātta* syllable. [*Vide* R. L. Turner: "The Indo-Germanic Accent in Marāthi" in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1916, page 206.]

It is curious indeed that in a *sūtra* of the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya,* we find some authorities denying *in toto* the enclitic circumflex. सर्वो नेत्येके (Taitt. Prāt. XIV, 33.)

Neither the *Atharva-Veda Prātiśākhya,* nor the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā Prātiśākhya* gives such a definition of the circumflex; and yet as Whitney says, the theory of the *pracaya* accent so manifestly recognizes and implies it that one cannot believe otherwise than that its statement is omitted by them although it really forms part of their system. If the voice has already, in the utterance of the enclitic *svarita,* sunk to the actual grave

pitch, it can scarcely be believed that it should be called upon to rise again to the level of acute for the utterance of the following unaccented syllables: while, on the other hand, if the circumflex be bodily removed to a higher plane in the scale, and made to end at acute pitch, the following grave syllables might be naturally enough supposed to run at the same level.[1]

To distinguish the actual acute occurring after the grave syllables succeeding a circumflex (which are also uttered at acute pitch) provision seems to have been made for, in the recognition of *anudāttatara* (cf. स्वरितोदात्ते अनन्तरं अनुदात्तम्· *Atharva-Veda-Prātiśākhya*, iii, 74. "But the syllable immediately preceding a circumflex or acute is grave".)

In the XV chapter of the *Taittirīya-Prātiśākhya*, there is the citation of the opinions of various authorities as to the mode of utterance of the sacred syllable *Om*. The third sūtra in this chapter reads as follows:—

धृतप्रचयः कौण्डिन्यस्य[2]

The following is Whitney's translation of this sūtra. "According to Kauṇḍinya, it is a sustained pracaya."[3] But Whitney does not make himself sure whether it might have been better to follow the lead of Somayārya (the author of the

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1. *Vide* the note under the *Atharva-Veda-Prātiśākhya*, iii, 65, Whitney's edition.

2. Another reading is धृतः प्रचयः कौण्डिन्यस्य *Vide* Mysore edition of the *Taittirīya-Prātiśākhya* Bibliotheca Sanskrita No. 33, page 451. Cf. Die *Vyāsa Śikṣā* besonders in ihrem Verhältnis Zum *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* Von Dr. Heinrich Lüders, Von der philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Gottingen gekrönte Preisschrift (1895), page 84.

3. I am indebted to my revered Professor M. M. Kuppswami Śāstrigal for suggesting to me a more happy and an appropriate equivalent '*constant*' to the Sanskrit term '*dhṛta*' for in the scheme of Sāman music *dhṛta* is the name given to the *basic svara* or the *tonic note*, the other *svaras—kruṣṭa, prathama* and *dvitīya* on the one side and *caturtha, mandra* and *atisvārya* on the other side being variations of the *utkṣepa* (=ascending) and *apakṣepa* (=descending) type. *See* below. Maxmuller in his edition of the *Ṛk-Prātiśākhya* (page cclxxiii) calls प्रचय "Mittlere Haltung."

commentary *Tribhāṣyaratna* on the *Taittirīya-Prātiśākhya*) who treats *dhṛta-pracaya* as being equivalent to the simple *pracaya*.[1]

The commentator, as Whitney points out, meets the objection that in XIX, 2. (प्रचयपूर्वश्च कौण्डिन्यस्य) the use of the term

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1. That the word *dhṛta*, by itself, is taken to be a synonym of *pracaya* appears from the following verses said to occur in the *Vyāsa Śikṣā*:—

प्रचयश्च बुधः प्रोक्त उदात्तश्रुतिरित्यपि ।
स्वारः शीर्षे मुखेऽप्युच प्रचयो निहतो हृदि ॥
[नीचोच्चस्वारधृताश्चैव विज्ञेयाः प्रजापतौ ॥]

(Note that the metre is defective in the two pādas of the second stanza.) For the first stanza quoted here. *Vide Vyāsa-Śikṣā. Ṣvaradharma S :ṁhitā Prakaraṇam* edited by Venkaṭarāma Sharman, Madras University Journal, Volume II, Supplement, Stanza 148, page 16. The second stanza is not found in this edition of *Vyāsa Śikṣā*. But in *Hatasvaravinyāsa Prakaraṇam* of that edition, we find the following:—

नीचस्वारधृतोदात्तानङ्गुष्ठाग्रेण निर्दिशेत् ॥

(Verse 164, page 18).

"This passage (as Kielhorn says) shows that the reading of the *Pāṇinīya Śikṣā* V, 43,

उदात्तमाख्याति वृषोऽङ्गुलीनां प्रदेशिनीमूलनिविष्टमूर्धा ।
उपान्तमध्ये स्वरितं धृतं च कनिष्ठिकायामनुदात्तमेव ॥

धृतं च, ought not to have been altered to **धृतश्च**, and that the word उपान्तमध्य should have been translated by 'the ring and the middle fingers'. (Indische Studien, Volume IV, page 365.) The following verses of *Bharatabhāṣya* called *Sarasvatīhṛdayabhūṣaṇa* (Paper manuscript deposited in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona). A transcript of this is available in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library from which alone I am quoting here) [*See* chapter II (towards the end in शिक्षाध्याय) page 18], the author of which professes to have studied the *śikṣās* of *Pāṇini*, *Nārada* and *Āpaśali*, are evidently based on the verse of the *Pāṇinīya Śikṣā* referred to in the above:—

अङ्गुष्ठस्य मुखाग्रेण तर्जनीमूलसारणात् ।
उदात्तः स स्वरो नाम वेदविद्भिरुदाहृतः ॥
कनिष्ठामूलसंस्पर्शादनुदात्त इति स्मृतः ।
स्वरितोऽनामिकामूलसंस्पर्शाद्यः स्वरो भवेत् ॥
मध्यमामूलतो विद्यात् प्रचितं स्पर्शनादपि ॥

Vide: Remarks on the *Śikṣās* by Dr. Kielhorn. Indian Antiquary, Volume V, page 143, footnote.

प्रचय itself is attributed to this same Kauṇḍinya, and that hence it should have been used here also. Somayārya answers the objection as follows:—

"On the principle that even where there is no difference of meaning there may be a difference of application, the teacher exhibits a nicety of application: other examples of the principle are the namas of Bhīmasena and Bhīma, Satyā and Satyabhāma, pidhānam and apidhānam, dīpa and pradīpa. So by this pair of words *dhṛta* and *pracaya* even an appellation is given".

[ननु—'प्रचयपूर्वश्च कौण्डिन्यस्य' (XIX, 2.) इतिवत् प्रचय इत्येतावतैवालम् । किं धृतशब्देन ? मैवम् । पदद्वयेनाप्यनेन नामधेयमेव अभिधीयते । तथा हि—

अर्थभेदाभावेऽपि प्रयोगभेदोऽस्तीति प्रयोगचातुर्यमाचार्यः प्रकटयति । यथा—भीमसेनो भीमः, सत्यभामा सत्या, पिधानम् अपिधानम्, दीपः प्रदीप इत्यादि ।

Mysore edition, page 451.]

The *pracaya* is defined as the fourth accent (चतुर्थः स्वरो 'धृतप्रचयः' इति कथ्यते, page 452, Mysore edition). We have already seen how it is explained in the twenty-first chapter (XXI, 10); it is there said to be of the same tone as *udātta*; 'acute'; so that unless *dhṛta* is to be regarded as signifying a modification, one does not see in what respect *Kauṇḍinya's* opinion differs from that of *Vālmīki*, given in rule 6 of the XVIII chapter.[1]

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1. उदात्तो वा वाल्मीकेः. At one stage, our ancients must have keenly felt conscious of the labouring struggle to reach or touch occasionally the fourth *svara* from the original three notes. (*Vide* M. S. Ramaswami Iyer's Introduction to Svaramela Kalānidhi p. lxviii). When this consciousness was not wide awake, the theorists could not but bring 'प्रचय' under उदात्त, for as Fox Strangways says (*Vide* Music of Hindostan, p. 248), if in a chant of only three notes, प्रचय is to be distinguished from *anudātta*, it could not well have any other place. It is curious but interesting to note that the author of the *Nārada Śikṣā*, in one place rejects the view that प्रचय is the fourth *svara*.

य एव उदात्त इत्युक्तः स एव स्वरितात्परः ।
प्रचयः प्रोच्यते तज्ज्ञैः न चात्रान्यत्स्वरान्तरम् ॥

Nārada Śikṣā, I. VIII. Verse 2.

PRESERVE THE ANCIENT MONUMENTS

BY

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Chidambaram.

I. THE ROLE OF THE TEMPLE.

The temple in the past played many parts and had many attractions to the people. Though it was chiefly a place of public worship, it was also a centre of varied social activity—a beehive of communal enterprise. It was a centre of learning. Colleges and schools were conducted, and Vedas, Purāṇas and religious hymns were expounded therein. Libraries called *Sarasvatī Bhāṇḍāram* were located in it. Hospitals were, in some cases, attached to it. Music—vocal and instrumental—was practised therein. The people displayed their artistic skill in temple architecture. While most of the secular buildings of the past have perished, religious monuments have miraculously survived. Sculpture and painting were mostly confined to religious subjects and the temple was thus truly a museum of ancient art. The temple managed public trusts by controlling gifts of lands and money endowments made to it. It lent its surplus funds to people in times of distress and in return arranged for religious services to the deities. Above all it was a public record office. This is how it is historically of incalculable value. The royal orders, the grants and decisions of public bodies like the village assembly (Ūr or Sabhā), the merchant guilds (Nagaram), Provincial assemblies (The Nāḍu) and the gifts of private individuals were all recorded and engraved on temple walls. The original documents were generally on cadjan leaves or copper plates and these leaves or copper plates were deposited for the sake of safe custody in the temple treasury—the *Bhāṇḍāram.* While most of these original documents have perished in the various revolutions that have taken place, the temple walls have wonderfully preserved what were merely the copies of the originals; and great is the value of these records to the historian.

II. PRASASTIS AND THEIR VALUE.

It has been said that India has no recorded history. This is only true in a very limited sense—namely that there are very few professedly historical works, like the Rājataraṅgaṇī or the Harṣacarita. But almost all ancient Hindu kings had maintained elaborate records of every important public transaction. Yuan Chwang the Chinese pilgrim has recorded (7th century A.D.) how in Harṣa's kingdom official records of all events were kept up in each province by special officers. This is no isolated phenomenon. Indian inscriptions—chiefly South Indian—reveal the existence of an active and able body of bureaucracy which had been carrying on in an efficient manner the work of the maintenance and preservation of all public transactions of the land like the charitable grants, revenue collections, remission of land revenue, land survey, dealings between central and local bodies, etc.

But in one respect South Indian inscriptions are unique. While only a few *Praśastis* (records of praiseworthy deeds of kings) are available about the kings of Northern India like the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, every inscription of South India from about the 10th century onwards is a chapter of South Indian History. Every public transaction is recorded on the walls of the temple in whose neighbourhood the endowed property was situated or where the assembly met for making the grant or carrying out the transaction.

Sometimes when a gift in one village is made to a temple in another village, or when the transaction relates to more than one temple or village, it is recorded in more than one place. In very many cases full astronomical details of the day of the transaction are furnished which enables us to find out their exact equivalents in modern Christian era with the help of the Ephemeris. Every transaction is recorded to have taken place in a particular regnal year of a king. Before his name we have a long historical introduction generally in verse, which recounts all the important achievements of the reign. The *Praśasti* (in Tamil it is called *Meykkīrtti*) grows in length along with the passage of time and the progress of events in his reign. The *Praśasti* of one is different from that of another. The introductory part of this historical introduction varies from king to king. The *Praśasti* of Rājarāja I begins with the formula "Tirumakaḷ pōla" and that of his son Rājendra I

"Tirumanni Vaḷara", so that by a perusal of the beginning of the historical introduction, we can declare at once the name of the king to whom it belongs. It is this part of the inscription that is of the utmost value to the historian.

Thus it will be clear that every temple was a public record office and every epigraph a page of history of the land and it is amazing how much of recorded history there is in South Indian temples.

III. Scientific Renovation.

The old stone structural temples of the Pallavas and Early Colas—Hindu, Jain or Buddhist—were massive structures strongly built, and they could stand many centuries. There was ample and systematic provision in the past for their careful preservation and maintenance in good repair. If on account of neglect or old age any monument needed repair, it could be reconstructed with the old materials without the addition of a single stone. The Dutch archaeologists of Java employed this method of scientific renovation in the case of the renowned Buddhist monument of Borobudur and the Hindu-Javanese monuments of the Dutch East Indies. The example of the Dutch was followed by the French archaeologists of Indo-China and in 1930 M. Marchal was deputed to Java in order to acquaint himself with the methods followed by the Dutch Archaeological Survey. Here is a description of the method adopted by M. Marchal who tried his newly learnt art in the case of the temple of Banteay Srei. "It was in a ruined condition, but practically all the stones were in existence around the foot of the building. Among the three towers forming the central group the one to the south was the first to be attacked. Marchal began by making an accurate survey comprising drawings and photographs. Then he reconstructed on the ground, the upper storeys which had collapsed long ago. This part of the work having been accomplished, he proceeded to demolish the portions of the structure still standing, carefully assorting and numbering each separate stone. Then, after having strengthened the foundations by means of a layer of concrete, he rebuilt the successive storeys of the tower one after the other." Such is the care and reverence for the monuments of the past and such is the method of scientific renovation followed by enlightened people who value historic relics. It is

with pleasure that I record here that this wise method of renovation has been followed by my friend Mr. K. V. Raju, former Curator of the Pudukotah museum--(by himself and without any inspiration from the practice of Dutch and French Archaeologists)—in repairing the valuable temples of the Pudukotah State. The Subrahmaṇya temple at Kannanur, the Vijayālaya Colīśvaram at Nārttāmalai, and the Mūvarkoil shrines at Koḍumbālūr have been thus scientifically treated. But look at the ruthless and wanton destruction going on in our midst in British India.

IV. TEMPLE VANDALISM—(*a few historic cases*).

I shall cite a few famous cases of wilful destruction of our ancient monuments. The Buddhist Stūpa at Amarāvati was built of marble by the Andhra Kings in the 2nd century A. D. In the 18th century (1797) a petty local Rājā razed this marble monument to the ground and used parts thereof as building material. The sculptured panels and pillars were demolished and even partly burnt to lime. Seven pieces of this Stūpa are kept in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, and 160 pieces were sent to the British Museum. In 1831 T. Burgess examined the site and collected 400 pieces more and they are now preserved in the Madras Museum.

Let me take another instance, that of Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Colapuram—the creation of Rājendra Cola I as the new Cola capital in commemoration of his victory of the region as far as the Ganges. In his new capital he also built a temple on the model of that built by his illustrious father at Tanjore. Here is the account which appeared in a local publication of 1855. "Speaking of the noble temple of Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Colapuram, it must not be omitted that when the lower Colerun *anikat* was built, the structure was dismantled of a large part of the splendid granite sculptures, which adorned it, and the enclosing wall was almost wholly destroyed in order to obtain materials for the work. The poor people did their best to prevent this destruction and spoilation of a venerated edifice by the servants of a government that could show no title to it, but, of course, without success; *they were only punished for contempt.* A promise was made indeed that a wall of brick should be built in the place of the stone wall that was pulled down; but unhappily it must be recorded that this promise has never been redeemed." What a commentary on the ignorance and

arrogance of those engineers! Fortunately, the main temple was not touched.

The temple of Tiruviḍaimarudūr in the Tanjore District is a place of great antiquity. It had nearly 151 inscriptions on its walls and on those of the maṇḍapas close to the shrine. They related to the kings of many dynasties—Cola, Pāṇḍya, later Pallava and Vijayanagar, ranging over a period of nearly 700 years.* This temple has undergone renovation and most of these valuable records have been lost for ever. It is the same sad tale whenever a modern renovation of an ancient temple takes place.

A temple that is threatened with a similar fate in the near future is that at Tiruvaiyāṟu (Trivadi) in the Tanjore District. The Viṣṇu temple in this locality has been completely re-constructed. Next will be the turn, I understand, of the Śaivite shrines in the place. There are two shrines in this compound. The older is called the Dakṣiṇa Kailāsa and perhaps it was

* Dynasty.	No. of inscriptions.	King's name.	Regnal years ranging from
Cola	24	Parakesarivarman	2—16 years
	9	Rājakesarivarman	3—17 ,,
	33	Parāntaka I	7—38 ,,
	8	Parakesarivarman (who took the head of Vīra-Pāṇḍya)	4—14 ,,
	1	Uttamacola	13th year
	6	Rājarāja I	2—16 years
	4	Rājendracola I	3—20 ,,
	1	Rājādhirāja I	32nd year
	9	Kulottuṅga I	4—49 years
	29	Vikramacola	3—10 ,,
	1	Kulottuṅga II	8th year
	4	Kulottuṅga III	12—28 years
	3	Rājarāja III	2—27 ,,
Later Pallava	1	Kopperuñciṅka	18th year
Pāṇḍya	1	Vikrama Pāṇḍya	3rd year
Vijayanagar	1	Acyuta deva Rāya	Śaka 1456 A. D. 1534
	1	Sadāśiva Rāya	Śaka 1466 A. D. 1544
	15	Miscellaneous	..

one built in the days of Āditya (acc. 871 A. D.). It contains many inscriptions of early Coḻa, Pāṇḍya and Vijayanagar rulers. The other is the foundation of a Cola queen of Rāja Rāja I called Lokamahādevī who lavished many costly gifts of jewels and ornaments and made innumerable endowments for the up-keep of various temple-services.

V. Efforts of the Archaeological Department.

In the year 1935, the Archaeological department of India issued a very important communique on the subject of "Preservation of Ancient Monuments". They pointed out that Southern India has "a rich heritage in its large number of temples, remarkable alike for their size and the wealth of sculptural and epigraphical material", that "the importance of the inscriptions which are veritable mines of information regarding the life and times of the princes and peoples in the past ages cannot be exaggerated, that well-informed public opinion should range itself on the side of those who are making efforts to preserve these priceless materials for posterity". At the same time they condemned the baneful practice of white-washing the walls which resulted in considerable damage to sculptures and inscriptions, and the indiscriminate burning of lamps on sculptures, pillars, panes and inscribed slabs and the practice of modern renovators—chiefly the Nagarattār community—of chiselling out old inscriptions on stones and using them as ordinary building material without regard to the records and carvings found on them.

There is also need for greater co-ordination between the departments of Epigraphy and Archaeology so that we may derive the fullest benefit by their collaboration. Is there not a case even for unification of these two departments under a single officer?

VI. Our Duty to Preserve this Rich Heritage.

A renovated temple can boast of a new structure but not an architecture. The historical association, the epigraphs and works of art of the past have a charm of their own. It must be our duty to preserve as far as possible the ancient character of our old temples. In case the temple renovation is indispensable, it should be done on scientific lines as indicated above. If not, careful plans and diagrams have to be prepared, photographs taken of these old shrines before destruction of each

part. All the inscriptions have to be copied fully. Then the stones of each wall should be numbered and after careful dismantling should be reassembled in a part of the wide quadrangle of the temple under the guidance of Archaeological officers, so that they may be a source of inspiration to future generations and an object of additional attraction to the temple. The cost of these inscribed stones as building material is insignificant to a charitably minded benefactor, who, at considerable cost, renovates a temple, but their value from an historical, archæological or aesthetic point of view is considerable.

The Archæological department has rightly emphasised the need for a well-informed public opinion to range itself on the side of those who strive for the preservation of these monuments; secondly, on the good sense and cultural conscience of renovators; and thirdly, on the timely help that may be rendered by Hindu Religious Endowments Board.

India is a vast country. Her monuments are many. Workers are few and their voice is feeble. The cultural conscience of the people has not yet been stirred. The monuments are being demolished in hundreds every year, without our knowledge or even a protest from the public. Let the department and the public concentrate all their attention on one monument and save it. If we succeed in one place we shall succeed in others. Tiruvaiyāru offers such an opportunity. Will the public rise equal to the occasion? The Hindu Religious Endowments Board has no greater cause or nobler end to serve, or more sacred duty to discharge, than this. The Collector of the district has vast powers and personal influence. He can by persuasion try to save the monuments in his jurisdiction from the ravages of an ignorant renovator who in the name of religion and piety unwittingly destroys what the iconoclast has spared. If we do not save them now, they are lost for ever and the future awakened India will blame us for our neglect and we shall have to take upon ourselves the full share of the blame for our failure to preserve them for posterity. If we fail, the labours of Cunningham, the first Archæologist of India and Lord Curzon, who, by an act, laid the foundation for the preservation of our ancient monuments, would have been in vain and the hand of the clock of progress would be reversed by about a hundred years.

JŌḶAVĀḶI. VĒḶAVĀḶI AND LEṄKAVĀḶI

BY

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The terms *jōḷavāḷi, vēḷavāḷi* and *leṅkavāḷi* which are occasionally met with in the inscriptions as well as literary works in Telugu and Kannaḍa, are obscure in origin and uncertain in meaning. The first two terms occur coupled together in an inscription of 1216 A.D.[1] and in some of the works of the Telugu Vīraśaiva divine, Pālkuriki Sōmanātha, who flourished at Warangal in the first quarter of the fourteenth century A.D.;[2] and the last is found in some inscriptions of Mysore belonging to the middle of the thirteenth century.[3] The meaning of these terms is far from clear and opinion is naturally divergent as to its origin and exact significance.

The suffix *-vāḷi* which is common to all the three terms may be first taken up for consideration. Some believe that it denotes a tract of territory, and that consequently the terms should be considered as the names of countries.[4] No doubt, the word *-vāḷi*, an equivalent of *vāḍi* or *pāḍi*, means 'a country, a settlement, etc.', as, for instance, in Perumbāṇappāḍi, Gaṅgavāḍi, Honnavāḍi, Noḻambavāḍi, Raṭṭappāḍi, Vallabhappāḍi, etc. Jōḷavāḷi and Leṅkavāḷi on the analogy of these terms may certainly be taken to denote the country of the Cōḷas and the Leṅkas respectively; but the inapplicability of this interpretation to Vēḷa-vāḷi,—for no people of the name of Vēḷa is known to have existed at any time in the past—coupled with the occurrence of Jōḷa-vāḷi in places where it is impossible to take it as the name of a country, bring out clearly its inadequacy to explain

1. E. C. VIII, Sr. 125.

2. *Paṇḍitārādhyacaritra* (Andhrapatrika edn.) Part II, p. 185; *Basavapurāṇām.* P. 195.

3. E. C. IV, Kr. 9.

4. Rice cited by Narasimhacharya: Karnātakavicarite, Vol, I, P. 31, n. 1,

K. V. Lakshmana Row: *Śivatattvasāramu* (Andhra Academy Publications, No. 13), Intro. p. 19, *n.*

the real significance of the terms under consideration in a satisfactory manner.

Vāḷi is, in fact, identical with the Kannaḍa *pāḷi* and the Telugu *pāḍi* meaning 'rule, order, law or obligation.' The poet Ranna, for instance, speaks of warriors who having deserted their master died without fulfilling their *vāḷi* to him.[1] Bandhuvarman a poet of the early 13th century substitutes the expression Jōlaḍarṇam for 'Jōḷada-vāḷi suggesting thereby that *-ṛṇaṁ* and *vāḷi* are synonymous terms.[2] Similarly Nanni Chōḍadēva in his Telugu *Kumārasambhavam* refers to *jonnalu-gonna-ṛṇam* or the *ṛṇam* arising from the acceptance of *jonnalu* that is *jōḷa* or the Indian millet.[3] It is obvious, therefore, that *vāḷi* like its equivalent *ṛṇaṁ* means 'an obligation or debt'; and consequently the term *jōḷa-vāḷi, vēḷa-vāḷi* and *leṅka-vāḷi* seem to denote certain kinds of 'obligations', the nature of which has not yet been clearly ascertained.

I

Jōla-vāḷi:—Assuming that the interpretation of the suffix *-vāḷi* suggested above is correct, *jōla-vāḷi* or *jōḷada-vāḷi*, as it was more commonly known, should mean the obligation of the *jōḷa*. The early Kannaḍa classics throw incidentally some light on certain interesting features of *jōḷa-vāḷi*. According to the poet, Cāṭu Viṭṭhalanātha, the king is said to have admitted people, whom he took into his service, to '*jōḷa-vāḷi*'. In the *Dhruvacaritra* of his Kannaḍa *Bhāgavata*, Queen Suruci on seeing her step-son Dhruva seated in the lap of her husband, Uttānapāda, is described as having exclaimed indignantly—"thou art not worthy to sit there; serve the feet of my son Uttama; he will provide thee with *jōḷa-vāḷi*."[4] The people who

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1. *Gadāyuddha*, 5 : 10.
Jōḷa-vāḷiyam-neṟapad=āḷdana-kajjam-anokku sattaraṁ.
2. *Nēmināthapurāṇam* (Madras University Kannada Series, No. 6), p. 232.
3. *Kumārasambhavam*, 11 : 240.
4. Ōlagipud=Uttamana-padavanu
Koḍuvanu jōḷavāḷiya nenute bhaṁgisi
Jaḍidu-nūkidaḷ-ad-ihiḵe-garvadali.

I am obliged to Mr. H. Sesha Aiyangar, Junior Lecturer in Kannaḍa, University of Madras, for this as well as the other Kannaḍa texts and references cited in this paper.

were thus admitted into the king's service were provided by him with the means of subsistence. Bandhuvarman refers to men-at-arms serving a lord as *jōlaṁ-goṇḍavar* or 'people who accepted their salary in *jōḷam*'. He also describes the ideal hero as one who enters a great battle, and making use of the skill acquired in the gymnasium, fights with the enemy so as to proclaim the debt incurred by him by eating the *jōḷam* (of his master).[1] This is corroborated by the evidence of Nanni Cōḍadēva's *Kumārasambhavam* in which a soldier, who was about to join a battle, declares his intention to fight with the enemy and discharge the debt incurred by him by taking the *jonnalu* (*jōḷa, chōḷam*) from his master.[2]

The lord expected his dependants who had received *chōḷam* from him to fight his battles; and failure on their part to discharge their obligation was regarded as a dereliction of duty. That much is implied in Duryōdhana's complaint against Drauṇi and Drōṇa in Ranna's *Gadāyuddha*.[3]

"Could it not have been possible for Drauṇi", cries Duryōdhana, "to defeat the enemy unaided? He is an incarnation of Rudra, and has even an (additional) eye in his forehead. Placing faith in him and his father I gave them sustenance and nourished them. Have they placed the arrow on the bow-string? No, they cast away, on the contrary, their weapons. Drauṇi and Drōṇa did not even pay regard to their *jōḷadavāḷi*."[3]

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1. *Nēmināthapurāṇam*, p. 285.
   Jōḷaṁ-goṁḍavar-ellar
   Mēḷaṁ-goṁdare tegaḷtu . . .

Ibid. p. 232,
   Negaḻvinam-uṁḍa jōḷada-ṛṇaṁ śramamaṁ-kalayal -mahārāṇakk
   agiyade pokku taḷt-iṟiva sad-bhaṭanum kali. . . . .
2. *Kumārasaṁbhavaṁ*, II: 612 (Ramakrishna Kavi's edn.).
   Munum iḍi vairi vāhinula muṭṭi paḍal vaḍa vrēsi. . . .
   . . . . jonnalu-gonna ṛṇaṁbu nīgudun.
3. *Gadāyuddha*, 2: 11.
   Asuhṛit-sēnage sālvan-ōrvane gaḍam! Rudr-āvatāram gaḍam
   Nosalōḷ-kaṇ-gaḍam-eṁdu nacci poredaṁ tānakke tamm-amm-ana

Pampa states explicitly that urged by considerations of *jōḷada-vāḻi*, he engaged his master's enemies in battle and put them to flight.[1]

Kumāra Vyāsa believes that it is an act of merit to give one's head in exchange for *jōḷa-vāḻi* of the lord, who fostered one by offering nourishment.[2]

The evidence of the Kannaḍa writers thus leaves no room for doubt as to the denotation of the term *jōḷa-vaḻi* and *jōḷada-vāḻi*. It is clear that they are not the names of a country; but they appear to have been terms commonly in use in ancient Karṇāṭa to denote an obligation, probably military in character, owed to a lord by his dependants. The lord provided his men with the means of subsistence expressed in terms of *jōḷam*, the staple grain of those days, and they repaid his debt by fighting his battles.

II

The meaning of *Vēḷā-vāḻi* is more difficult to trace.[3] The solution of the problem depends upon a clear understanding of the true significance of *vēḷa*, the first member of the

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kk-isal-aṁbaṁ tiruvāyge taṁd-aṟivarē tāv-iṟvaruṁ-kaiduvam
Bisaṭūr *JŌḶADA-VĀḺIYAM* bagedud-illā Drauṇiyuṁ Drōṇanuṁ.

1. *Bhāratam*, 14: 50.
Kavite negaḻtayaṁ nirise jōḷadapāḻi nij-ādhināthan-ā-
Havodoḷ-arāti-nāyakara paṭṭ-ane pāṟisi samda-pempu.

2. *Bhāratam*,
Salahid-oḍayane jōḷavāḻige
Taleya māṟuvad-ondu puṇya.

3. The term occurs coupled with *jōḷa-vāḻi* in the Telugu *Paṇḍitārādhyacaritram* and *Basavapurāṇam*; and some of the leading Telugu scholars have commented on it. The late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Row identifies *vēḷa* with *kāla* and the latter with Yama (*Śivatattvasāram*, Andhra Sahitya Parishat Publications, No. 13, Intro. p. 18, *n.*). Mr. V. Prabhakara Sastri takes it to mean the performance of prescribed rites throughout one's lifetime (*Basavapurāṇam*—Andhrapatrika edn., Intro. p. 114). Dr. Ch. Narayana Rao accepts Mr. Prabhakara Sastri's interpretation tentatively, but keeps an open mind on the matter (*Paṇḍitārādhyacaritram*, Andhrapatrika edn., Intro. p. 266).

term. A clue which may lead to a correct interpretation of *vēḷa-vāḷi* is found in an epigraph from Nādamanchasāle in the Sagar taluka of the Shimoga district of the Mysore State. A certain Kavaḍaya Bimma, one of the servants of Kumāra-Mahārāya Bāḷeya-Verggeḍe, the Mahāpradhāna of Jagadēva Pāṇḍyarasa of Poṭṭipombuchcha is said to have accompanied his master during a raid into Jiḍuvaḷige-nāḍu and having made his *jōḷa-vāḷi* and *vēḷa-vāḷi* manifest in an engagement with the enemy, died on the field of battle.[1] It is obvious that *vēḷa-vāḷi*, like *jōḷa-vāḷi* with which it is coupled, is also an obligation involving military service. Those who owed *vēḷa-vāḷi* had to discharge their obligation by fighting their master's battles.

The nature of *vēḷā-vāḷi* and the obligations arising therefrom are made clear by an examination of *Vēḷaikkāraṉ*, another Tamil term of uncertain origin, with which it seems to be etymologically connected. Judging from the scanty information furnished by the inscriptions, the *Vēḷaikkāras*, like the men bound by *vēḷa-vāḷi*, were men-at-arms who attached themselves to some king or chief and fought his battles. They were constituted into a number of *paḍais* or battalions by the Coḷa monarchs, whom they served with devotion.[2] The exact significance of the term *Vēḷaikkāraṉ* and the nature of his relationship to his master are not definitely known. Several attempts have been made to interpret the term, but no satisfactory solution has yet been found, owing to a fundamental error: the term *vēḷai* of which *vēḷaikkāraṉ* is a derivative, has generally been taken to mean 'time'; and consequently the interpretations based on this assumption have turned out to be unsatisfactory.

Vēlā, the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamil *vēḷai* and Telugu-Kannaḍa *vēḷa* is used in several senses. According to the Sanskrit lexicographer Keśava, it means among other things *vyavasthā* which denotes 'an engagement, agreement or

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1. EC, VIII, Sr. 125.
   Kavaḍaya Bimmaṁ joḷavāḷi vāḷavāḷi mereḏidiranta mārvalavam taḷt-iṟidu . . . . suralōka-prāptanāda etc. (*Vāḷa-vāḷi* in the text is an obvious scribal error for *vēḷa-vāḷi*).
2. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Colas*, Vol. II, p. 225.

contract'.[1] The Kannaḍa lexicographer Abhinava-Maṅgarāja also takes *vēḷa* and *vyavasthā* as synonymous terms;[2] and he is supported by the authority of the early Kannaḍa poets who make use of it in this sense. Pampa, for instance, employs the term *vēḷa* in this sense of contract or agreement, while poetically describing the cause of the expansion of the heart of the lovers simultaneously with the blooming of the jasmine in the spring. 'How is it', he asks, 'that the tender hearts of the lovers expand at the thought of their beloved, when the jasmine blooms in the spring? Perhaps the tender hearts of the lovers have taken *vēḷa* (agreement) to the jasmine.'[3] Similarly, Bandhuvarman uses the word to point out the dependence of the body on life, as if on terms of a clear contract. "The duration of life', says he, 'decreases as days pass; and the body, as if it has taken *vēḷa*, perishes with the extinction of life.'[4] These instances make it quite clear that *vēḷa* denotes, besides its usual meaning 'time', 'an agreement, bond, or contract', as maintained by the lexicographers. This is further corroborated by the evidence of a Ceylonese inscription of the reign of Vijayabāhu I, in which an agreement entered into by the Rājaguru Mahāsthavira Vyārīṇi Mugalan with the *Vēḷaikkārar* is described as a *vyavasthai*, the very term given by the lexicographers as an equivalent of *vēḷa*.[5]

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1. *Nānārthārṇava saṁkṣēpa*, T. S. S. Edn., p. 153.
   Vēlākūlē samudrasya tad-ambu vikṛtāv-api
   Taraṅgē vatsarē kālē vyavasthāyām-api striyām.
2. *Nighaṇṭu Nānārthavarga*, 24.
   Kaśadōḷ vyavasthayōḷ vēḷe yaṁd-enikkum, etc.
3. *Ādipurāṇam*, 1? : 110.
   ....Malligegaḷ vasantadōḷ
   Birid-oḍe nallaraṁ nenedu nallara mell-erdagaḷ nirantaraṁ
   Birivud-ad-ento? malligege nallara mell-erde vēḷagoṁḍadō.
4. *Jīvasambōdhanaṁ*, Part I, (Brahmasurayya edn. Mysore 1917), verse 30, p. 9.
   Divasada kuṁde kuṁdisugum-āyuvan-āyuge vēḷagoṁḍad-em
   Bavol-aḻiguṁ śarīraṁ.
5. EI, XVIII, p. 337.
   Engaḷ anvayam-uḷḷadaṉaiyum-eññāṉṟum-idukku

The meaning of *vēḷai* having been thus finally settled, its two derivatives *vēḷaikkāraṉ* and *vēḷa-vāḷi* may now be taken up for consideration. The former denotes a person who has entered into a covenant with another binding himself to do certain acts; and the latter signifies the obligations arising from that covenant. This is clearly brought out by two Kannaḍa inscriptions of the Cāḷukyan age. In one of them dated 1060 A.D., it is stated that a certain Tuḷuva Caṇḍiga took a *vēḷa* with his finger as pledge and cut off the finger so pledged.[1] The other record dated A.D. 1185 describes the self-immolation of a servant on the death of his mistress in pursuance of *vēḷa-vāḷi*; Bōka, a servant of Laccaladēvī, the senior queen of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Sāvidēvarasa gave a '*bāsa*' (pledge) that he would die with the queen. On the death of the queen, Bōka fulfilled his pledge, and departed to the world of the dead. To describe the pride and greatness of Bōka: when his master called him saying, 'you are a brave man who with resolution offered to take off your head, Bōka gave his head in pursuance of his *vēḷa-vāḷi* exciting the admiration of all.[2] The nature of this covenant and the obligations pertaining thereto are not, however, clearly known. The inscriptions refer, no doubt, to the vow taken by the *vēḷaikkārar* to fight for their overlord, safeguard his interests even at the risk of their lives, and perish with him in the event of his death; but they throw little or no light on their status and the character of the service which they had to render in addition to their military duties.

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vēṇḍuvaṉav-ellāñ-cheyvōm-āgavum paṇṇiṉa inda *vyavasthai* chandr-ādityavarai niṟpad-āga-kkaiy-viṉāv-eṟṟi-chchembiluṁ kallilum veṭṭuvittu-kkuḍuttōm.

1. E. C. VII. Sk. 152.
Tuḷuva caṇḍigam. . . .berelge vēḷeyēn endu
nuḍidu Śrī-Ballavarasar Satyāśrayar tēvanu
Banavāseya kōṭeya Pannīrccāsaradal pasāya
dēva vṛittiyumaṁ dayageydu koṭṭa beratam kaḍiye. . . .

2. *Ibid.* Sk. 249. Śrīman-Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaram Sōvi-Dēvarasana viśāla-vakṣasthala-nivāsiniyar-appa Śrīmat-piriy-arasi Laccala-Dēviyaru svarggastheyar āgal ā-dēviyar-ōḍa śāven eṇdu mun-nuḍida bhāṣeya-neṟapi satta vara-lōkan appa Bōkana vinkada bīrad-unnatiy-agra-bhāvav-entene. Ka|| calade tale-gūṟanāḍuva| Kaliyam nīnendu kayad-oḍeyaṁ. . . .b-in tappa Alaghu-parākram Bōkaṁ| tale-goṭṭam vēḷe vāḷig-urvvare pogaḷal.

Some of the foreign travellers who visited India during the middle ages describe the manner in which people were admitted to the order of the *vēḷaikkārar*.

"When they mount on the throne" says Abu Zaid, "some kings of India cause rice to be cooked which is then presented to them on the leaves of the banana. The king musters (on the occasion) three or four hundred friends (who attach themselves to him) by deliberate design, freely, without any one being forced to it. After eating of the rice himself, the king gives of it to his friends, and each one of them, in his turn, goes near (him), takes a little of the rice and eats of it. When the king dies or is killed, all those who have eaten of the rice (with him in this sort of religious communion which binds them intimately), should burn themselves voluntarily on a pyre to the last man, on the very day when the king ceases to live. The king dead, his friends should disappear without delay. This obligation is so imperative that there should remain nothing of these friends, neither body nor trace of themselves."[1]

The *Book of Marvels of India* gives some more interesting details about the initiation of the *vēḷaikkārar* and the functions they had to perform in discharge of their duties:

"He (the king) makes them eat rice with him, and gives them betel from his own hand. Each hacks off his little finger, and sets it before the king. And from that moment on, they follow him about, wherever he goes, eat what he eats and drink what he drinks. They superintend his food, and overlook everything which has to do with him. No concubine is brought to his bed, whether it be girl or boy, but they, first of all, examine them thoroughly; no carpet is spread for his feet, till they have inspected it. The king is served with no drink nor dish but they insist it should be, first of all, tasted by whoever brings it. And thus they do, in every instance, where the king might be exposed to some danger. If he dies they commit suicide; if he burns, they cast themselves into flames; if he falls ill, they mishandle themselves in order to share his sufferings. When a battle is fought, in the attack, they cluster round him and never leave his side. Only men of distinguished family

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1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices*, p. 128.

who are themselves comely and valiant and of good understanding are admitted among *balāudjers* (*vēḷaikkārar*).[1]

The *Vēḷaikkārar* occasionally slew themselves to show their affection to their master. Ibn Batuta records an incident of this kind which happened at Mul-Jawa while he was on a visit to the court of the king.[2] They were also accustomed to sacrifice their lives to enable their masters to recover their health in case of sickness.[3] The *Vēḷaikkārar* held high posts under the government, and exercised considerable power in the kingdom. They were not, however, free men, but slaves, attached to the family of the lord for generations.[4]

The institution of the *vēḷaikkārar* was widespread and popular. It was not peculiar to kings and nobles; nor was it exclusively secular in character. Communities as well as religious foundations entertained *vēḷaikkārar* in their service to safeguard their interests and protect their property.[5] The duties which they had to discharge were onerous, involving frequently the risk of loss of life. They had to defend the village against raids, and establish the right to property of their masters secular as well as spiritual, by forfeiting their lives.

The conception of duty which bound the *vēḷaikkārar* to their lord exercised profound influence over the doctrines of the nascent Vīra-Śaiva creed which rose to great prominence

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 129 *n.* The vestiges of this institution are not yet extinct. The *Nagaripillakāyalu* or 'the children of the palace' who are attached to the Zamindari families of the Telugu country are the modern representatives of the *vēḷaikkārar*. The *Nagaripillakāyalu* are more intimately connected with the private life of the Zamindars than their other servants. They live in the palace, attend to the personal needs of the Zamindar, eat the food partaken by him, dress themselves in his cast-off clothes, and perform several other services which recall to mind the duties of the *vēḷaikkārar*. The *Nagaripillakāyalu* differ from the *vēḷaikkārar* in that they do not kill themselves on the death of their master; but that is due to the changed conditions of life under which they live at the present day.

2. Broadway Travellers: *Travels of Ibn Batuta*, p. 278.

3. MER. 1913, Part ii, Para. 22, p. 97.

4. Broadway Travellers: *Travels of Ibn Batuta*, p. 278.

5. ARE 368 of 1914, 188 of 1925.

during the age of the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi. The originators of this creed pressed into service political and social ideas and ideals current at the time in shaping their doctrines. Śiva, the supreme god, was made to stand in the same relation to the *bhaktas* or the faithful, as the lord was to his *vēḷaikkārar*; the *dīkṣā* or the initiation into the mysteries of the faith was substituted for the *vēḷaikkārar's* vow to be faithful to the lord in life as well as in death; the cooked rice which the *vēḷaikkārar* partook with their lord was transformed into the *nairmālya* (food offered to the deity); and the *bhaktas* were strictly enjoined to eat it without wasting even a particle. The *bhaktas* thus initiated into the faith were invested with the emblem of the *liṅga*, called *prāṇa-liṅga*, perhaps in imitation of the practice in pursuance of which the *vēḷaikkārar* were branded with some mark or symbol of their master.[1] The *liṅga* was to be looked

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1. This is clearly indicated by the term *tiruccūla-vēḷaikkārar* or the *vēḷaikkārar* bearing the mark of the *triśūla* mentioned in an epigraph at Punjai dated in the 14th year of the reign of Rājādhirāja II (188 of 1925). The *Vēḷaikkārar* who were attached, in this instance, to the local temple of Śiva were branded with the mark of the *triśūla*, a weapon peculiar to the god to show that they were the servants of the deity. Another instance which is closely parallel to this is the practice of branding *devadāsīs* at the time of their dedication to the service of temples. Āccapiḍāraṉ Gaṇapati Nambi alias Aḷakiya Pāṇḍya-Pallavarāyaṉ, a captain in one of the regiments of Kulottuṅga's army 'presented some women of his family as dēvarāḍiyar for service in the temple of Tiruvaḷḷam-Uḍaiyar, after branding them, with Śūla (trident) mark' (230 of 1921). The practice of branding the followers of Viṣṇu with the *Śaṅkha* and *Cakra*, the characteristic symbols of the God, may also be remembered in this connection. It appears to have been customary to change these marks with the change of masters. 'The dēvarāḍiyar belonging to the temple at Tirukāḷatti had been forced into the royal household'. This was brought to the notice of the emperor Kulottuṅga I. It was noticed that the mark of the Śūla was erased, and the royal lāñchana was impressed in its place. The emperor enquired into the matter and commanded that the dēvarāḍiyar in question should be branded again with the mark of the Śūla and restored to the temple. (MER. 1922, Part ii, Para. 19. I am indebted to Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar for having drawn my attention to these records.) The practice is based on the principle that what belongs to an individual should

upon not as a mere symbol but as the deity himself. The *bhakta* should lose it on no account. If by chance he happened to lose it, he should not survive its loss, but cut his throat and die in the same manner as the *vēḷaikkārar* on the death of their lord.[1] The *bhakta*, like the *vēḷaikkāraṉ*, should incessantly strive to promote the interests of his lord; he should put to death without hesitation people who disparage Śiva, destroy the opposing creeds and establish the true faith even at the point of the sword.

The *tiruccūla-vēḷaikkārar* of Puñjai in the Tanjore District, for instance, had to cast themselves into the fire and perish in the flames in order to establish the right of the local Śiva temple to the ownership of certain *dēvadāna* lands which were in the enjoyment of some unscrupulous men.[2] The ten *Vīrabhadras* whom the Rājaguru Viśveśvara-Śiva appointed to protect the *dēvadāna* villages, Mandaram and Velaṅgapūḍi which the Kākatīya sovereigns Gaṇapati and Rudrāmbā had granted to him as an *agrahāra*, and which he, in turn, had assigned to a *maṭha* and *satrālaya* founded by him, were expected to protect the village by *bījacchēda*, *śiracchēda* and *kukṣicchēda*.[3] As the *vēḷaikkārar* of this class were very seldom called upon to take up arms in defence of their trust they soon lost their military character and became guardians of the interests of the community or religious institution, as the case might be. Whether the *vēḷaikkārar* were soldiers fighting for their lords, or were mere protectors of the rights and privileges of private bodies, they had one thing in common. They devoted themselves exclusively to the service

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bear his mark to proclaim his ownership. The *vēḷaikkārar*, the *dēvadāśīs* and the *bhaktas* forfeited their freedom by the terms of their agreement to serve the lord or god and became his slaves, his property. It is only reasonable that they should bear the emblem of their master.

1. Prāṇa-liṅga-vratē luptē prāyaścittaṁ na vidyatē|
 Prāṇa-liṅgātparam tasmāt sāvadhānēna dhārayēt||
 Prāṇa-liṅgē ca vicchinnē liṅgē prāṇān parityajēt|
 Prati-dīkṣām prāpya tiṣṭhēd-rauravaṁ narakaṁ vrajēt.||

—*Siddhāntaśikhāmaṇi* (cited by V. Prabhakara Sastri in his Introduction to the *Basavapurāṇam*, p. 79).

2. No. 188 of 1925 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
3. JAHRS, IV, p. 160.

of their masters, and considered no sacrifice too great in promoting the interests of those to whom they had dedicated their lives.

The employment of *vēḷaikkārar* in the temple seems to have brought in its train a modification of the meaning of the term *vēḷai*. It was due to the difference in the character of the lord, *viz.*, the presiding deity of the temple. He was divine, and his interests were bound up more with spiritual than with the worldly affairs. The duties which the *vēḷaikkārar* were called upon to discharge in the service of their divine master differed in character; and consequently the scope of the *vēḷai* (pledge) which they had to give to their lord was widened, so as to include spiritual duties. Therefore, *vēḷa-vāḷi* which originally denoted an obligation arising from a pledge to render personal service to a human lord, appears to have developed a new significance in this manner and become synonymous with *samaya-dharma* or religious obligation.

The Tamil inscriptions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries copied from the South Arcot District refer to a class of female servants called *vēḷaikkāris*, who bound themselves, like *vēḷaikkārar*, by most solemn oaths to die with their masters.[1] It is not known whether they had any connection with the *vēḷaikkārar*. They were perhaps personal attendants doing menial service to their lords like *anugu-Naṅgāṇḍi* who used to massage the feet of Kulōttuṅgadēva.[2] They were perhaps unmarried, and were prevented from entering into marital relations by the conditions of service. The *vēḷaikkāris* immolated themselves, as shown by their recorded vows, on the death of their master.

III

Leṅka-vāḷi: The *vēḷaikkārars* figure mainly in the inscriptions of the Cōḷa and the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalams. However, the order to which they belonged was not unknown outside these countries. They were called *Teṉṉavaṉ Āpottudavigaḷ* in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, and *leṅkas* in Teliṅgāṇa and Karṇāṭa. Very little is known about the character and, functions of the former though like the *vēḷaikkārar*, they seem to have killed themselves

1. ARE 136 to 149 of 1934-1935.
2. SII, iv, No. 1253.

by casting themselves on the pyre of their dead master.[1] About the latter, however, a good deal of information is available. The word *leṅka* which is frequently met with in the Telugu and Kannaḍa inscriptions and in literary works is of unknown origin. Very probably it is connected with the Marāṭhi word *lēṅk* meaning 'a son or daughter'. Perhaps like *mulgā* with which it is said to correspond, it also denotes 'a male child of a female slave of the state'[2]; for the *leṅkas* styled themselves as *kumāras* or sons of their masters and were brought up probably like Lakṣma-Daṇḍādhīśa of the Hoysaḷa records in the royal palace itself.[3] Like *vēḷaikkārar*, they were slaves who entered into a covenant with their lord to devote themselves exclusively to his service. They took an oath (*bhāṣe, bāse*) to look upon their lord as 'their *guru* and deity' in this world as in the next[4]; and pay no regard either for their property or lives in furthering his interests; stand by him in the hour of danger; fight his battles and kill themselves in the event of his death. The ideal of conduct which the *leṅkas* were expected to follow was, indeed, lofty. The chief characteristics of a *leṅka* are thus described in an inscription dated 1045 A.D.: "Truth should be his utterance, praise (of his master) his work, charity his recreation, succour of the distressed seeking his protection his merit, and unflinching attitude in a great battle his prime concern,—these are the characteristics of the *leṅkas* eulogised (loudly) like the proclamation of a kettle-drum by the learned on the surface of the earth."[5] The obligations and duties which the *leṅkas* had to discharge were known as *leṅka-vāḷi*[6]; and they were granted estates out of the proceeds of which they had to maintain themselves. The *leṅkas* appear to have been known as *anugus* or *anugas*, that is companions who followed their master; for the villages, allotted for their maintenance, are described *anugu-jīvita* or the territory assigned to the *anugus* for their subsistence.[7] It is evident that the *leṅkas* and *anugus* were identical.

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1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 196-7.
2. Molesworth: Dictionary Marathi-English, pp. 660, 722.
3. E. C. v, Bl. 112.
4. E. C. v, Bl. 112.
5. SII, ix, i, No. 101 (ARE 443 of 1914).
6. E. C. iv, Kr. 9.
7. SII. IX, i, Nos. 101, 104.

The *anugus* seem to have resided, like the *leṅkas*, in the royal palace; and the hall where they dwelt or assembled together was known as the *anugu-mogasāla* or the hall of the *anugus*.[1] The *leṅkas* were always in attendance on their lord, ushered people into his presence, looked after his needs, helped him in the management of the palace and the administration of his estates, accompanied him to the hunt, sported in his company in the pleasure gardens, and fought his battles risking their lives. Though the *leṅkas* were a heterogeneous community drawn from several classes of people, they attained high positions in the state, according to their ability and skill.[2] They became ministers and commanders of powerful armies. They could marry and beget children; acquire property, and dispose of it with the consent of the lord. The *leṅka* together with his *leṅkiti* and his men and maid servants should perish with the lord. Lakṣma-Daṇḍādhīśa, the general of Hoysaḷa king Ballāḷa II, together with his wife Suggale and a band of thousand *leṅkas*, killed himself in fulfilment of the vow he had taken to remain faithful to his sovereign.[3] Another *leṅka*, Śivaneya-Nāyaka also with five other *leṅkas* fulfilled his engagement with the same monarch.[4] Similarly Lakkheya-Nāyaka with his wife and three *leṅkas* perished with Narasimha I; Kanneya-Nāyaka, his three wives, ten *leṅkitis* and twenty-four *leṅkas* embraced Garuḍa and died with Sōmēśvara[5]; and Singeya-Nāyaka, his three wives, ten *leṅkitis*, and twenty *leṅkas* immolated themselves on the death of Narasimha III, and fulfilled their engagement.[6] Such instances can be multiplied, but these are sufficient to show the fidelity unto death of these *leṅkas* and *leṅkitis* to their masters. It is not known whether the *leṅkitis* were merely the wives of the *leṅkas* or were, like the *vēḷaikkāris* of the Tamil inscriptions, maid-servants in the service of the lord, bound to him by the same kind of oath like the *leṅkas* themselves. The breach of the oath of *leṅka-vāḷi* was fraught with serious consequences. *Lenkas* who deserted their master,

1. *Āndhra-Mahābhāratam*, Udyogaparvan, 3: 17. *Harivaṁśamu*, 3: 17.
2. *Bharati*, Vol. XV, Part ii, pp. 139 ff.
3. E.C. v, Bl. 112.
4. *Ibid.* iv, Kr. 9.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.* Kr. 10.

contrary to the pledge of their order or attempted to seek service, after the master's death, under others, were sternly dealt with. Lakṣma-Daṇḍādhīśa is said to have justified his claim to the title, 'the chastiser of the *leṅkas* who break their plighted word to their master in the stress of war'.[1] Similarly, the descendants of Gaṇḍa-Nārāyaṇa-Śeṭṭi, one of the *leṅka-nāyakas* dependent on the Hoysaḷa family, claim to have been the chastisers of the *leṅkas* who break their plighted word, chastisers of the *leṅkas* who run away at the sound of the drum, and the chastisers of the *leṅkas* who set store by (their own) property or life.[2] Nothing is, however, known about the manner in which punishment was meted out to the defaulting *leṅkas*. They were probably put to death.

The foregoing discussion makes it clear that the three terms *jōḷavāḷi*, *vēḷavāḷi* and *leṅkavāḷi* refer to some political and military obligations which certain classes of people had to discharge in the service of their lord. *Jōḷavāḷi* denotes an obligation which a subject owed to his master for maintaining him by providing him with food and nourishment. The other two relate to the duties respectively of the *vēḷaikkārar* and the *leṅkas*, two classes of slaves who were in the service of the ancient Hindu kings of Deccan and South India.

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1. E. C. v, Bl. 112. Bhāṣege-tappuvaṁkada negaḻteya leṁkara gaṁdan eṁbudaṁ| Bīsaram āgad uddharipuḍētoḍal uddharipaṁ.

2. E. C. iv, Kr. 9. Bāsage tappuva leṁkara gaṁḍarum gōsaṇe vodaguva leṁkara gaṁḍaram dhanamana prāṇangaḷolu seragu vārva leṁkara gaṁḍarum.

TAMIL SYNTAX.

(A PAPER PRESENTED AT THE TENTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE)

BY

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"Syntax" is interpreted in different ways. The root-meaning of the word is "arranging together".[1] There are several scholars who divide syntax into separate departments, *viz.*, order, concerned, government and cross-reference. Among such scholars is that famous American philologist, Dr. Bloomfield[2]. Mr. Nesfield, on the contrary, has devoted his entire attention in his English Grammar to the Order of Words in a sentence.[3] He has, besides, remarked that divisions into concord and government are not useful in modern English, because it has lost several of its inflexions. Therefore, it behoves us to be guarded in our use of the expression "syntax" in relation to any language. Prof. A. H. Sayce, for instance, said[4] "Where there is elaborate formal grammar there may not be a rich syntax". In a similar manner Prof. Earle also said "Syntax varies inversely in richness or poverty as acccidence is poor or rich." Considered in this way, Tamil should not be expected to have a rich syntax, for there is elaborate formal grammar in it. It is believed that in Sanskrit there is no rich syntax because of this reason[5]. But writers such as the Rev. Mr. Rhenius, the Rev. Mr. Pope and the Rev. Mr. Beschi have given elaborate syntaxes in their Tamil grammars. How then are we to reconcile the practice as we find in these grammarians with the theory formulated by Sayce and Earle? There are two ways of reconciling these. They are either by means of saying that just

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1. W. W. SKEAT: An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language.
2. Language, p, 191.
3. Idiom, Grammar and Synthesis, Bk. IV, p. 150.
4. The Science of Language, Vol. I, p. 428.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 392.

as Greek in spite of its possession of elaborate formal grammar is still rich in syntax, Tamil despite its grammar has an elaborate syntax, or by means of saying that what is meant by syntax, according to Sayce and Earle, is order alone of words.

Tamil is not rich in syntax in the sense in which Sayce would say English is; that is to say, in the matter of the order of words in a sentence there are not many sanctions and taboos in Tamil. For instance, it is the order of words in English and Chinese that decides the meaning of words, as in "Rāma killed Rāvaṇa". Here if the order is changed so as to read "Rāvaṇa killed Rāma" the contrary assertion is the result. In Tamil, a change in the order as "Rāmaṉ Rāvaṇaṉaik-koṉṟāṉ, Rāvaṇaṉai Rāmaṉ koṉṟāṉ, Koṉṟāṉ Rāmaṉ Rāvaṇaṉai, Koṉṟāṉ Rāvaṇaṉai Rāmaṉ" would not interfere with the meaning except in regard to emphasis. These Tamil sentences seem to emerge from the same process as the Latin "*Pater amat filium*", "*Filium pater amat*" and "*amat pater filium*", all meaning "The father loves the son". This process is unlike what we find in the Chinese[1] where "*ngo ta ni*" means "I beat thee" and "*ni ta ngo*" means "You beat me". Hence we might say that if syntax means "Order" alone, Tamil is not rich in it. But if syntax means, as is taken by Leonard Bloomfield, concord, government and cross-reference, Tamil has it.

Now let us see whether we have all these sub-divisions of syntax in Tamil. Tolkāppiyar in his rules in "Kiḷavi ākkam" has given certain injunctions regarding the order of words. In one rule (No. 38) he has said that demonstrative pronouns should not precede "iyaṟpeyar" or real names to which they refer. In another rule (No. 41) he has said that surnames should precede real names (*e.g.* Muṉivaṉ Akattiyaṉ). As some other instances of requirements of order we might mention the following:—

1. The adjective should precede the word it qualifies. (*e.g.* nalla kaṉi=good fruit).
2. The adverb should precede the verb it modifies. (*e.g.* naṉṟāy uṇṭāṉ=ate well).
3. The verbal participle should precede the finite verb. (*e.g.* vantu pōṉāṉ=Having come, he went.)

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1. Dr. T. G. TUCKER: Introduction to the Natural History of Language, p. 121.

The normal order of words in a Tamil sentence is supposed to be subject-object-verb. This is different from the English order which is subject-verb-object.[1] It is English, Scandinavian and Romanic that do not place the verb in the final position. On the contrary, Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Anglo-Saxon and Dravidian put the verb at the last part of the sentence. It would appear that if a deaf-mute is trained to communicate his ideas, he puts the verb always at the end. This method therefore seems to be very natural.[2]

As regards concord, the verb in Tamil must agree with the subject or the nominative in the matter of gender, number and person (*E.g.* avaṉ pōkiṟāṉ; avaḷ pōkiṟāḷ; avar pōkiṟār). Instances of concord in English are "he goes" and "they go". Instances of Sanskrit concord are "Saḥ apatat" (=he fell) and "tē apatan" (=they fell).

There are very sure instances of government in Tamil. The second and first personal pronouns govern a plural verb of the first person (*e.g.* nāṉum nīyum pōvōm=You and I will go.) The second and third personal pronouns govern a plural verb of the second (*e.g.* nīyum avaṉum pōṉīr=He and you went). The first, second and third personal pronouns take a plural-ending of the first (*e.g.* nāṉum nīyum avaṉum pōṉōm=He, you and I went). Two or more nominatives singular of the rational class govern an epicene plural (*e.g.* Kapilaṉum Paraṇaṉum vantār).

As regards case and its government, we have definite information supplied in Tamil Grammars. The first and eighth cases govern a verb. (*e.g.* avaṉ vantāṉ=He came; makaḷē vā =come, O! daughter). The second and third cases in a similar manner govern a verb (*e.g.* avaṉai aḻāittāṉ=he called him; kaiyāl eḻutiṉāṉ=wrote with the hand). The fourth and sixth cases generally take a noun (*e.g.* nōykku maruntu=medicine for the disease; eṉatu kai=my hand). But the dative case can govern a verb too (*e.g.* avaṉukkuk koṭuttāṉ=He gave him). In the fifth case the ablative of direction takes a noun (*e.g.* Chidambarattiṉ kiḻakku Aṇṇāmālainagar=Annamalainagar lies east of Chidambaram). The ablative of motion, however,

1. Language, its nature, etc., p. 345 (1934 edn.)

2. *Cf.* A. H. SAYCE: The Science of Language, Vol. I, p. 436.

as in "Ūrin nīṉkiṉāṉ" (=left the city)' takes a verb. The seventh case can govern either a verb or a noun (*e.g.* malaiyiṉ-kaṇ aruvi=a fountain on the mountain; Nilamicai vāḻvār(= those living on the earth).

There is no cross-reference in Tamil. "*Puella cantat*" in Latin literally means "the girl—she sings". In English this would be "the girl sings". The expression "cantat" can mean either "she sings" or "he sings" or "it sings". That it is "she" and not "it" or "he" is brought out by the cross-reference in "*puella*".[1] There is no need in Tamil for such cross-reference.

But the order and concord, we have seen before, do not appear to be absolutely essential in Tamil. English, which has no case-endings except probably the suffix of the genitive, has an order that cannot be dispensed with. But Tamil which is rich in cases can dispense with its order, if it has any, without doing violence to the meaning. We shall now see that in the following instances there is no order insisted upon in Tamil. We can indifferently say either "mūvar makaḷir" or "makaḷir mūvar", but the order of the corresponding expression in English is strict: "three women" and not "women three". English writers, being accustomed to a strict order in their language, imagine there is such an order in the languages they look at. That must be the reason why certain things, which do not constitute order, have been mentioned by the Rev. A. H. Arden,[2] and the Rev. C. T. E. Rhenius[3] under the head of Order in Tamil. For instance, the comparative is said to precede that which is compared and "ivaṉiṉum avaṉ nallavaṉ" (=he is better than this man) is cited.[4] This order is only imaginary, for we could equally say "avaṉ ivaṉiṉum nallavaṉ". Thus that which is compared can also go before the comparative. It is again said that the similitude precedes that which is similar. The instance "Sūryaṉaip pōlap pirakāśikkiṟāṉ" (=He shines as the sun) is given. But without doing any harm to the meaning, we can inverse the order and say "avaṉ sūryanaip pōlap pirakāśikkiṟāṉ". These things then show that the position of words in a sentence does not matter very much in Tamil and there is no "order" properly so-called.

1. *Vide* BLOOMFIELD: Language (1935), p. 193.
2. A Progressive Grammar, p. 87, *et seq.*
3. A Grammar of the Tamil Lauguage, p. 212.
4. ARDEN, p. 87.

As regards concord, we find that it exists in Tamil only so far as the verb is in agreememt with the nominative in point of number and person. Other concords known to certain other languages are not found in Tamil. For instance, in Sanskrit "kuśalaḥ Ramaḥ" would mean "happy Rama"; 'kuśalinī Sītā' would mean 'happy Sītā'. Here the adjective is in concord with the noun. Both these phrases, when rendered into Tamil, will have the same form of the adjective: makil̲cciyāṉa. In a similar manner "*kalter wein*", "*kalte milch*" and "*kaltes wasser*" would in German mean respectively cold wine, cold milk and cold water. Here there is concord of the adjective with the noun. Even so in Sanskrit there is a regular concord of the adjective with the noun, through every case. The following paradigm will make the point clear:—

	Adjective (Masculine Singular)	Noun (Masculine Singular)
Nominative.	pāpaḥ	kāmaḥ
Accusative.	pāpam	kāmam
Instrumental.	pāpena	kāmena
Dative.	pāpāya	kāmāya
Ab ative.	pāpāt	kāmāt
Genitive.	pāpasya	kāmasya
Locative.	pāpe	kāme
Vocative.	pāpa	kāma

But there is no such concord in Tamil.

There is another kind of concord which we find in English (*e.g.* This man and these men). There is no such concord in Tamil. We say "inta maṉitaṉ, inta maṉitar". Furthermore, there is concord in English between the relative pronoun and that which it governs (*e.g.* that which cried, and he who spoke). But in the corresponding expressions in Tamil, al̲uta kul̲avi and pēsiya maṉitaṉ, the terminations of the relative participle are the same.

Considered in this manner, government alone seems to be the most important division of syntax found in Tamil. Though order and concord are attributed to it, they are of course very rare. That kind of agreement, known as cross-reference, has no part to play in Tamil.

॥ नमो मात्रे ॥

॥ भवभूतिः करुणरसश्च ॥

वा. ह. सुब्रह्मण्यशास्त्री

समस्तमेव जगत् साक्षात्परम्परया वा रसाङ्गतामुपयातीति नेदमास्थेयं साध्यसरणौ। यतस्तत्रभवान् आचार्यानन्दवर्धनः 'वस्तु च सर्वमेव जगद्गतमवश्यं कस्यचित् रसस्याङ्गत्वं प्रतिपद्यते विभावात्मने'ति सिद्धप्रायमनुवदति। स्थितेऽस्मिन् समये, समेभ्यः पदार्थेभ्यः कविनटादिव्यापारागोचरेभ्यो रसोत्पत्त्यापत्तेः परिजिहीर्षवस्ते आलंकारिकसमयाचार्याः काव्यादितात्पर्यमेव तत्र नियामकमुशन्ति। कवयो हि कमपि रसमितिवृत्तोचितमैदम्पर्येण विशदयन्ति स्वेषु काव्येषु। तेषु कविश्रेष्ठो भवभूतिः करुणं रसं विशदयितुं किमपि कौशलं कक्षीकरोतीति सहृदयसम्मता प्रशस्तिराचकास्ति। यामनुबध्नन्ती 'भवभूतेस्सम्बन्धाद्भारतभूरेव भारती भाति। एतत्कृतकारुण्ये किमन्यथा रोदिति ग्रावा ॥' इत्यनन्तपण्डितस्य सूक्तिरपि प्रावर्तत। श्रृङ्गारादीनां यद्यपि रसानां भग्नावरणचिद्रूपत्वेन, अनुभोक्तृभिः विगलितनिखिलवेद्यान्तरत्वाद्यात्मना अनुभूयमानत्वेन च नास्त्येव परस्परं भेद इति, नायं कविः समुत्कृष्यते कव्यन्तरेभ्यः करुणवर्णनेन। अथापि वाच्यवर्त्मसमास्थितस्य रसशब्दस्यापि स्थायीभाव एवाभिधेय इति प्रामाणिकव्यवस्थितेः, करुणस्थायीभावस्य अन्येषां च तत्कारणानामालम्बनादीनामुपवर्णने प्रकृष्यत एवायं परेभ्य इति प्रसिद्धेरुदयः ॥

अपि च कवयोऽपि कालिदासाद्याः श्रृङ्गारादीनुपनिबध्नन्ति। अयं च करुणम्। तत्समाने रसप्रतिपादने कुतोऽयमन्येभ्यो विशिष्यत इति विमृश्यमाने करुणो रसो रसान्तरेभ्यः परमुत्कृष्यते। तत्प्रतिपादने चास्य इतरेषां रसवर्णनधोरणीतः कापि विलक्षणा हृदयालुभिरादृता सरणिः वशंगता विलसतीत्यपि भावमुत्प्रेक्षामहे पूर्वोक्तायाः प्रशस्तेर्मूलकारणतया। तदयमवार्थः यथा प्रसिध्येत् तथा क्रमशः प्रतरिष्यामः ॥

१९३६ वत्सरे संस्कृतसेवासमित्या भवभूतिमहोत्सवे प्रथमपारितोषिकेण सम्मानितोऽयं सन्दर्भः।

सन्ति दर्शनानि रसविभागे विभिन्नानि । यथा शृङ्गार एक एव रसः । अपरे च तद्विवर्ता इति शृङ्गारतिलके । अत्र युक्तिमप्यायुंजते । रसो हि रस्यमानताप्राणः नैव माधुर्यमतिवर्तेत । अतो ह्यानन्दयत्यखिलान् । तस्मात् शृङ्गार एव मधुरः परः प्रह्लादनो रसः । नान्यः । अन्येषु हि नैवं माधुर्यं प्रह्लादनं वा विभाव्यते प्रतिपत्तृभिः । तन्न शृङ्गारविवर्ततां व्यावर्त्य प्रह्लादयितुं प्रगल्भेतैकोऽपि रस इति । अपरत्र, शान्तः समेषां रसानामधिष्ठानात्मा । स च विवर्तते विविधरसात्मना निमित्तभेदात् । 'स्वं स्वं निमित्तमासाद्य शान्तादुत्पद्यते रसः । पुनर्निमित्तापाये तु शान्त एव प्रलीयते ॥' इति भरतोदीरितं प्रमाणयतां मतमालोक्यते । इतरत्र च शान्तस्य अखिलानुभवागोचरतामनभिनेयतां स्थाय्यभाववत्तां चोत्प्रेक्ष्य तदभावः प्रकल्पितः । अन्यत्र धर्मदत्तग्रन्थे चमत्कार-सारत्वं सर्वेषां रसानामनुभवतोऽनुविन्द्य सर्वत्राद्भुत एव रस इति राद्धान्तितम् । तदुक्तिरप्यत्र, 'रसे सारश्चमत्कारः सर्वत्रैवानुभूयते । तच्चमत्कारसारत्वे सर्वत्राप्य-द्भुतो रसः ॥ तस्मादद्भुतमेवाह कृती नारायणो रसम्' इति दृश्यते । प्रकृतस्तु कवयिता स्वीये रामोत्तरचरिते व्यापारेण व्यञ्जनाभिधेन एको रसः करुण एव निमित्तभेदात् नानात्मा विवर्तत इति करुणस्यैवेतरेभ्य औत्कृष्ट्यं सिद्धान्त-यति । न केवलमौत्कृष्ट्यम्, यावत्तस्यैव रसत्वम्, इतरेषां तदनन्यत्वं च प्रतिपादयति ।

एषु च प्रभेदेषु विनान्तिमं सर्वेऽपि प्रभेदाः परश्शतहेतुभिः पर्यवस्था-पिता एव तत्तन्मतप्रवर्तकैः । अन्तिमस्त्वेको रसः करुण इत्यादिपक्षः न केनाप्यैदम्पर्येण यत्नतः साधितोऽथापि न कदापि प्रतिक्षेप्यपदवीमुपारोढुमर्हति । यद्वेदाध्ययनमित्यादिना शास्त्रशाणनिकषणतीक्ष्णतमधिषणत्वेन निर्धारितस्य शब्दब्रह्मविदः कवेरस्य भावः प्राकृतस्येव जनस्य प्रत्याख्यानपारुष्यं कथमिवा-वहेत् । नैतादृशो युक्तिमनुभवं वा अनास्थाय प्रमत्तप्रलापायितं किमप्यभि-दध्यात् । अतोऽस्माभिरस्य पक्षस्य चिन्तनीयास्संवादाः ॥

अत्रेमं वादं भवभूतीयमेके नानुमन्यन्ते । यतः स कविवेधा उत्तर-रामचरिते तृतीयेऽङ्के प्रस्तुतं वृत्तमनुकीर्तयति तमसामुखेन । न रसं सिद्धान्त-यति । यतः तस्मिन् अङ्के संभोगशृङ्गारस्य काचित्कतया खद्योतविलसित-निभतया च क्षणिकता, करुणस्य च स्थिरता अनुस्यूततया अविच्छिन्नतया च स्पष्टमालोक्यते इति । अथापि उत्तरे रामचरिते शृङ्गार एक एव रसः सर्वाङ्गव्यापीति समर्थयतां शास्त्रावलम्बिनामयं वाद इति विस्तरतः परस्तात्तदौ-

चित्यं परिशीलयिष्यामः । पूर्वतनस्तु पक्षस्तत्र करुणं रसं प्रबन्धव्यापिनं प्रधानं मन्वानानां सम्मत इति बहुवादिसम्मतः । तद्वयमपीदानीं बहुसम्मतिं प्रमाणयन्तः करुणवादमेव कक्षीकुर्मः ॥

किञ्च पद्यस्यास्य अर्थपर्यालोचने यथा अप्रकृतस्य अर्थस्य पुरतः स्फूर्तिः न तथा प्रकृतस्येति पद्यार्थपरीक्षकाणां हृदयमेव प्रमाणम् । परिणतप्रज्ञः स्वायत्तशब्दप्रपञ्चः कविः प्रकृतमर्थं तात्पर्येण प्रतिपादयन् कथमिवाप्रकृतमर्थं पुरस्फूर्तिकमादध्यात् ? प्रतिपिपादयिषितं च पृष्ठतः । अपि च काव्यकर्ता परित्यज्येदृशं पन्थानं, कथं वा स्वराद्धान्तं प्रकटयेत् ? प्रस्तुतार्थप्रकटनद्वारा आत्मनस्तात्पर्याविष्करणं हि कविसमयसंगतम् । तदनुरोधेनाविर्विहिते कवेस्तात्पर्ये सर्वत्रैव यदि पूर्वोक्ता प्रकृतमात्रपक्षपातिनी दृक्परिगृह्येत हन्त तपस्विनः सर्वे कवयस्तुलिताःस्युः । अतो नेदं वर्त्म सांप्रतमालक्ष्यते । अन्यच्च पद्यमिदं पृथक्कृतमपि प्रकरणात् संगतमेवार्थमभिधत्ते । प्रत्युतमपि प्रकरणे मुक्तकायितं भाति । पद्यस्यास्याभावेऽपि पूर्वोत्तरयोस्सन्दर्भयोरन्वयो नांजस्यं परित्यजति । तदेभिः कारणैस्तत्त्वमिदमाविर्विधातुमेव ईदृशं ग्रथितं पद्यं कवयित्रा प्रकरणाविरोधेनेति निश्चिनुमः । नास्य पद्यस्य अप्रकृतार्थाभिधायित्वसमर्थनार्थमस्माकं व्यवसायः, किन्तु अप्रकृतस्यैवार्थस्य अप्रतिसमाधेयैः युक्तिविशेषैः व्यवस्थापितता, अलंकारशासकैरनुन्मीलितता च वरीवर्तीत्यस्मिन्नप्यर्थे कवयितुरैदम्पर्यप्रकटनार्थम् । न ह्येकोऽप्यालंकारिकः सधीरमुवाच 'करुण एक एव रसः अन्ये च तद्विवर्ताः' इति ॥

युक्तिसिद्धा हि करुणविवर्ततेतरेषाम् तथा हि—भग्नावरणा निर्विशेषा चिदेव रस इति सिद्धान्तात् आत्मस्वरूपता तावद्रसस्य संसिध्यत्येव । अतः खलु आत्मनो रसात्मकत्वे 'रसो वै सः' इति श्रुतिमपि प्रमाणयन्ति । स एवास्माभिरद्य सर्वरसाधिष्ठानं करुण इति व्यपदिश्यते । आत्मनः करुणामूर्तित्वात् तदभिन्नस्य रसस्य तत्त्वं को वा प्रतिबध्नीयात् । 'करुणामूर्ते न सर्वथोपक्ष्य' इत्यात्मनः करुणामयत्वं अभिदधाति पण्डितराजः । आत्मनः करुणामयत्वानभ्युपगमे अनन्तकल्याणगुणवत्ता श्रुतिसिद्धा सुदूरमुत्सार्येत । अनुरुध्याद्वैतप्रक्रियां, आत्मनः गुणविगलितता, ततश्च करुणामयत्वाभावश्च यदि प्रसाध्येत, तदात्वे शान्तं, शिवम्, अद्वैतम् इत्यादिपदानामिव सकरुणपदस्याप्यात्मनि आञ्जस्यमनुषञ्जनीयम् । यद्यप्यालंकारिकाः शोकस्थायिकं तदनुगुणविभावानुभावकं च करुणं रसमभ्युपयन्ति । करुणा-

मूर्ते इत्यादिपण्डितोक्तेश्च दयामूर्तित्वे एव तात्पर्यं विद्यते । तथापि चित एव रसत्वाभिधानात् आत्मनिष्ठेषु च निखिलेषु सद्गुणेषु करुणाया एव अभ्यर्हणीयतमत्वात्, आत्मनः करुणामयत्वाभ्युपपत्त्यैव समानि जगन्ति प्राणवन्ति इत्यनुभवात्, अस्याः करुणाया अलंकारिकानां रसपरिगणने श्रूयमाणकरुणस्य च लौकिकहास्यस्य रसपरिगणनागणितहास्यस्येव अत्यन्तं भेदाभावाच्च नालंकारिककरुणस्यात्मरूपत्वे विप्रतिपद्येत कश्चित् । अत्र च श्रीशङ्कराचार्या एवं संवदन्ते—'या दया हृदयगता हि करुणा लोके प्रसिद्धा । सा च लिङ्गैरनुकर्तरि शोकं प्रतीयतां सामाजिकानामिति करुणव्यपदेश' इति । यद्यकरुणात्मक आत्मा स्यात् तदा विश्वमिदं विपर्यस्येत् । सन्तु, अथवा न सन्तु तस्मिन्नन्ये सङ्घशः सद्गुणाः । करुणाभिधानस्तु गुणो न कदापि तं विमोक्तुमर्हति । यदि नाम न वर्तेत तस्मिन्नयमभ्यर्हणीयतमो गुणः कथमिवोदीरयेत् 'अपि चेदसि पापेभ्यः सर्वेभ्यः पापकृत्तमः । सर्वं ज्ञानप्लवेनैव वृजिनं सन्तरिष्यसि ॥' 'अहं त्वा सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि मा शुचः' इत्यादि । आत्मा च करुणात्मक एव सन् रसात्मकस्संपद्यते । न ह्यकरुणो रसात्मकः प्रीयमाणश्च लोके दृष्टः । द्रुत्यात्मकविकासभाजि अन्तःकरणे प्रतिबिम्बनात् भग्नावरणा चित् हि रसशब्दवाच्या । द्रुत्यात्मकविकासश्च विना करुणं न कुत्राप्युपजायेत । यद्यपि करुणे विप्रलम्भे शान्ते च द्रुतिस्तारतम्येन वर्तत इति रसस्वरूपवादिभिरभ्यधायि । तत्रापि विप्रलंभे शान्ते च करुणानुप्रवेशेनैव तादृशी द्रुतिरिति परस्तात्प्रतिपादयिष्यामः । पूर्वोक्तरूपत्वे रसस्याभ्युपगन्तव्ये न केवलमेषु त्रिषु रसेष्वेव द्रुतिः यावत्सर्वेषु रसेषु सा स्वीकरणीयैव जायते । द्रुतेः स्वीकारे च तत्कारणत्वेन करुणस्तत्र स्वीकरणीय एव । अत्र च द्रुत्याश्रयत्वस्यान्तःकरणेऽभ्युपगमेऽपि तत्र चितोऽभेदाध्यासात् द्रुत्यात्मकत्वं तत्प्रतिबिम्बितचैतन्यस्यैव सिध्यतीति भावः । एवं विना करुणमात्मनः प्रीयमाणत्वं च न संपद्येत । प्रीतिश्च द्रुत्यात्मकचित्तविकासप्रतिफलितचैतन्यानुभवादनन्येति तत्रापि द्रुतिकारणत्वेन करुणरूपत्वमङ्गीकरणीयमेव । ईदृशप्रीत्याश्रयत्वादेवात्मनः 'सर्वस्यात्मा परः प्रियः' इति श्रावयति श्रुतिः । तद्विना करुणमात्मा रस्यमानः प्रीयमाणश्च नैवेत । तदभिव्यक्तिसामग्र्यो रत्यादयः स्थायिनः, तद्विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिभावाश्च । स च करुणः अभिव्यंजकभेदेन शृङ्गारहास्येत्यादिविभिन्नव्यवहारपात्रतामापद्यते । तमिममेव भावमभिप्रेत्य भगवान्भवभूतिः—

'एको रसः करुण एव निमित्तभेदा-
द्भिन्नः पृथक्पृथगिवाश्रयते विवर्तान् ।
आवर्तबुद्बुदतरङ्गमयान्विकारान्
अम्भो यथा सलिलमेव तु तत्समग्रम् ॥' इत्यभ्यधात् ।

तदेवं अभिव्यक्तरसस्वरूपेण करुणैकतानतैव रसानां लक्ष्यत इति समसाधयाम । अद्यत्वे पुनरालङ्कारिकसम्मतरसाभिव्यञ्जकरीतितोऽपि करुणात्मता समेषां विद्यत एव सूक्ष्मया दृशा विलोकने इत्येतदुपपादयामः । तत्रादिमस्तावदा-चकास्ति शृङ्गारः । 'न विना विप्रलंभेन शृङ्गारः पुष्टिमश्नुते' इतीयमालंकारि-काणामुक्तिरेवास्य रसस्य करुणावष्टंभकतामाविष्करोति । उक्तेरस्या अयमर्थः — शृङ्गारो हि रस्यमानताप्राणस्तदैव जायेत यदा चित्ताभोगे अङ्कुरिता रतिः आलंबनविषयकबहुविधबहुमानचिन्तासलिलेनानवरतमासिच्यमाना क्रमशः शाखोपशाखमभिवृद्धा व्यभिचार्यादिमन्दपवनस्पन्दनदृढीक्रियमाणमूला बहुना कालेन फलोन्मुखी सम्पद्येत इति । तत्कथमिव नायिकानायकयोः प्रथम एव समागमे निरुक्तो रसः प्रभवेत् ? तत्र हि नास्ति बहूकृतः परस्परा-लम्बनो भावः । तत्कीदृशोऽत्र रसोत्पादः ? न हि लता अङ्कुरितमात्रैव फलति । एवं प्रथमदर्शनेन तत्कालमङ्कुरिता रतिः कथं रसफलं सुवीत ? बहुकालानुवृत्त-समागमेन यद्यप्यस्ति संभोगशृङ्गाराख्यस्य रसस्योत्पत्त्यवकाशः । अथापि अनुकूलेन विप्रलंभेनैव तत्रापि रतिं रसात्मना परिणमयति निपुणः कविरित्येवा-लक्ष्यते । अतश्चैतत् सिध्यति विप्रलंभाद्विना न कदापि शृङ्गारस्य रस्यमानतेति । विप्रलम्भे च निःश्रेणिकासाधारण्येन दुःखमेव विद्योतते नान्यत् । तस्य च शोकपर्यायित्वात् शोकेनैव शृङ्गारस्य परिपोष इति पर्यवस्यति । ततश्च कथं शृङ्गारः करुणाद्विप्रकृष्येत । अयमत्र प्रकारः—साभिलाषदर्शनानन्तरं पुन-स्तदलाभेनोद्दीपितः शोकः परिवर्धमानो रतिमात्मनि बृंहयन् पर्यन्ते रसात्मता-मेतीति । अत्र च संवादा दृश्यन्ते—'शृङ्गं च मन्मथोन्माथस्तदागमनहेतुकः' 'शृणाति चरमदशाप्रापणेन हिनस्ति कामुकानिति शृङ्गं मन्मथोन्माथः । इह शृङ्गपदस्योत्कर्षाद्यर्थलाभेऽपि योगजशक्त्या मरणावधिको मान्मथो व्यापर इति सूच्यते । शृङ्गमृच्छतीति शृङ्गारः । अथवा शृङ्गं राति ददातीति शृङ्गारः' । इत्यादयः ॥

अपरस्तज्जन्यो हास्यः । शृङ्गारजन्यत्वेनैवास्य विशेषतः करुणाद-नतिरेकः समर्थनीयः । शृङ्गारस्य तदात्मत्वेनैव गतार्थत्वात् । तथा हि—हासा-

रुयोऽस्य स्थायी अस्थानगतरत्यादिभिरुद्बोध्यते । अतो नु अनुचितं शृङ्गारं हासपदमावेदयन्ति विदग्धाः । ततः शृङ्गारात्मकतयैवास्य न करुणान्तर्भावे विशेषतो बध्नीमो दृष्टिम् । शृङ्गारव्यतिरिक्तस्थले हास्यस्य उदयेऽपि शृङ्गारपदमुपलक्षणीकृत्य अस्थानगतानां सर्वेषामेव रसानां हास्यात्मकत्व-मङ्गीकरणीयम् । अतश्च अन्येषां रसानां करुणोदितत्वं समर्थयद्भिरस्माभिः हास्यस्यापि तदात्मकत्वं समर्थितमेव भवति ॥

अन्यो रौद्रः । अस्य च स्थायी क्रोधः । अर्यादिभिराहितादपकारा-दुपजातो मनसस्ताप एव मूलं क्रोधस्येति नेदीयन् समेषामनुभवः । अयं हि मनस्तापः लेशतोऽभिवृद्धः शोकपदवाच्यतां प्रपद्यते । अतः करुणकारण-जन्यतयास्यापि करुणानुवेधो दुर्वारः ॥

परस्ताद्वीरः——उत्साहश्चास्य स्थायी । उत्कर्षेण साहयति क्लेशान्स्वार्थ-निर्वहणायेत्युत्साहः । समन्ततः सन्निपातिनामपि क्लेशानां तृणीकरणेन कार्यो-न्मुखमेव प्रवर्तमानो हि पुरुषः उत्साहवानाख्यायत इत्यलंकारकाराः । युक्तं चैददाभाति । यस्तु युद्धोपजनितानि दुःखानि बहूकुर्वन् निलीयत एकान्ते, स खलु भयानकस्य विषयः । न पुनर्वीरस्य । सुमहदपि दुःखजालं तूलीकृत्य मनसापि तदनाकलयन्निव प्रवर्तमानो हि पुरुषधौरेयो वीरगोचरः । समरविजयी हेतिदलितः' इति न्यायेन समरेषु समधिकदुःखसहनेनापि प्रतियुध्यमानस्य हि योधस्य उत्साहाश्रयत्वं निदर्शयन्ति । एवं युद्धवीरस्य दुःखानुभवमूलामभिव्यक्ति-मङ्गीकुर्मः ॥

एवं दानवीरोऽपि——न कदापि कर्णः कवचं कुण्डलं च प्रयच्छन्नि-न्द्राय, मरणान्ताय दुःखाय असन्नद्धश्च भुवने दानवीरः प्रथेत । ईदृशो दया वीरोऽपि शिबिस्स्वशरीरकर्तनव्यथां ततस्स्वशरीरवियोगदुःखं चाविगणय्य श्येन-विषये प्रावर्तत कपोतत्राणनाय । सत्यवीरश्च हरिश्चन्द्रः स्मरणेनापि मनसः क्षोभमावहतां सुमहतां खेदानामनुभवेनापि दृढमुत्साहमाविर्व्यधात् सत्ये । तदेवं सर्वोऽपि वीरः करुणकारणादेवोत्पद्यमानो न करुणाद्विप्रकर्षमश्नुते । पूर्वोदितेषु रसेषु अभिव्यंजकत्वेन दुःखमेव निविष्टं, न शोकः । ततः कुतोऽत्र करुणावसरः ? दुःखशोकयोर्भेदादिति प्रत्यवस्थीयेत तदेदमुत्तरम्——शोको यथा अनभिव्यक्तकरुणरूपः करुणांकुरत्वेन तस्य स्थायितां भजते, तथा दुःखमपि

शोकाङ्कुरायमाणमास्ते । अतः दुःखशोकयोरयं भेदोऽकिंचित्कर एव । विमृश्यमाने चादितः करुणस्य दुःखमूलत्वं लक्ष्येतैव ॥

इतरो भयानको भयपरिणतिजन्मा । भयं च भीत्यालम्बनजन्य-दुःखभावनाभावितान्तःकरणवृत्त्यात्मकमेवेति सर्वे स्वरसतो जानन्ति । रौद्रशक्त्यादिजनितं चित्तवैक्लव्यदं भयम् इति तल्लक्षणमामनन्ति । इतरथा कुतः कथं वा जनस्य भयोपजनिः । अनिष्टलेशोऽपि यत्र न संभाव्येत तत्र सर्वे स्वयमेव प्रवर्तेरन् । अन्यथा प्रवृत्ता अपि निवर्तेरन्नेव । अतोऽयमपि रसो दुःखादेव विवर्धत इति विशदमेव ॥

समनन्तरो रसो बीभत्साख्यो जुगुप्साप्राणकः । जुगुप्सा दोषेक्षणादि-भिर्जायमानः अप्रीतिनिमित्तकचित्तवृत्तिविशेषः । यदा हि जुगुप्स्यमांस-वसादिकमध्यक्षयति तदोद्विद्यते तस्मिन्प्रीत्यभावात्मकः खेदः । स च क्रमतो-ऽभिवर्धमानो जुगुप्सापदव्यवहारमर्हति । अतोऽत्रापि अभिव्यंजककोटौ करुणा-ङ्गानुप्रवेशः सुलक्ष एव ॥

अद्भुतश्च रसः न स्वातन्त्र्येणात्मानमितरेभ्यो लभत इति स नार्हति विशेषतो निर्देशम् । यतः 'विविधेषु पदार्थेषु लोकसीमातिवर्तिषु । विस्फारश्चेतसो यस्तु स विस्मय उदाहृतः' ॥ इत्युक्तरूपविस्मयपरिमाणामः सः । सोऽयं विस्मयः निरुक्तरत्यादिभावगत एव सर्वत्रानुभूयते । एतदुक्तं भवति, रत्यादिभावा एव यदा लोकसीमातिवर्तिनः तदा विस्मयविषया भवन्ति इति विस्मयो न वस्तुतो रत्यादिभ्योऽतिरिच्यते । विस्मयव्यपदेशदशायां रत्यादयः विस्फुरितेन चेतसानु-भूयन्त इति अतोऽद्भुतो रसो न पार्थक्येन करुणानुगतो व्यपदेष्टुं युक्तः । अतः इममेकमेव रसमाचष्ट धर्मदत्तः । अद्भुतस्य चमत्कृत्येकरूपत्वात् अन्येषां च रसानां चमत्कृतिसारत्वादेव अद्भुतात्मकत्वं पुरस्तात्प्रत्यपादयाम ॥

अन्तिमः शमस्थायिकः शान्तो रसः । स च शमः सर्वेषु पदार्थेषु दुःखानुभावनं विना वैराग्यद्वारा नोत्पद्येतेत्यानुभाविकमेवेदम् । अनुभूतशोकस्य हि वैराग्यं विरूढमूलमास्ते । वैराग्याच्चोपरत्यात्मकः शमः । ततश्च शान्तो रस इति तत्राप्यस्ति करुणानुप्रवेशः । अथैतेषां रसानां ध्वंसात्मता, प्रागभा-वात्मता वा शान्तस्य इष्यत इति मतं तत्र चात्मैव शान्तो रस इति तस्य करुणात्म-कत्वे नास्त्येव विवादः । एवमखिलेषु रसेषु साक्षात्परम्परया वा करुणानुप्रवेशः विलसत्येव । ततश्च सुष्ठु खल्वभ्यधायि भगवता कविवेधसा एको रसः करुण

एवेत्यादि । एतावता करुणस्य सर्वरसाधिष्ठानता प्रत्यपादि । तदनेन वर्त्मना सर्वरसव्यंजकानां करुणरसव्यंजकत्वे सिद्धेऽपि शोकाख्यस्य स्थायिनः इतरापेक्षया करुणसंनिकृष्टत्वात् तत्स्थायिकः करुण इति आलंकारिका आमनन्ति । इतरेषु च रसेषु शोकादीनां करुणकारणत्वेन सम्मतानां अभिव्यंजकत्वेनानुप्रवेशः सूक्ष्मेक्षिकानिर्ग्राह्यः इति तत्तत्स्थूलाभिव्यञ्जकभेदेन तत्तद्रसत्वेन निर्देशः इति पर्यवस्यति ।

ननु वाचकास्सहृदया एतावता प्रयत्नसंपादितेन मार्गेण सर्वरसानुप्रवेशः करुणस्य, ततस्सर्वेषां करुणविवर्तता च निरणायि इति मा नाम मनस्सु भवतामत्र वस्तुतत्वेऽसंभावनोदीयात् । यथा सामुद्रेषु तरङ्गेषु जलात्मता साधयितुं सुशका न तथा मुक्ताफलस्य तदात्मता, प्रत्युत साध्यमानापि असंभावनापदवीमेवानुधावेत् । अतस्सुसूक्ष्मं वस्तुतत्वं क्लेशेनैवास्मादृशां परिमितमतीनां प्रतिपादयितुं योग्यमिति न भवेद्यथोक्तस्य वस्तुनोऽन्यथाभावः ॥

किं च रामायणमादिकाव्यं सर्वरससंकुलमपि करुणप्रधानमवतारयितुमिच्छता भगवता वेधसा वल्मीकजन्मनः चेतस्याभोगे करुणात्मको ह्यङ्कुरः निरुप्तः । मानिषादेत्यादिरामायणमूलपद्यं करुणं नु विकिरति । ततो हि अभिनवगुप्ताचार्याः रसः परिपूर्णकुम्भोच्छलनवत् चित्तवृत्तिनिष्यन्दस्वभाववाग्विलापादिवत् समयानपेक्षित्वेऽपि चित्तवृत्तिव्यंजकत्वादिनयेन अकृतककृतयेवावेशवशात् समुचितच्छन्दोवृत्तादिनियन्त्रितः श्लोकरूपतां प्राप्तः मा निषादेत्यादि' इत्यभ्यधुः । यथा कृत्स्नस्य रामायणस्याङ्कुरायितमिदं पद्यं तथा तद्गतरसानामपि एतत्पद्यनिष्यन्दी रसो मूलभूत इति निश्चिनुमहे । वेधसोऽप्यत्र सम्मतिरेषेत यतस्तादृक्पद्यमवतारयामास । तत्कविश्रेष्ठोऽयं निर्धार्य सुसूक्ष्मं सर्वं इदं तत्वं अभ्यधादेको रस इत्यादि इति सिद्ध्यति ॥

अत्रैवमाक्षिप्यते यथा कविरयं करुणं सर्वप्राधान्येनाभिमन्यत इति कुतः कथं वावगच्छमः । नास्य दृश्ये कस्मिंश्चिदपि तं प्राधान्येन वर्णितमुपलभामहे । तथाहि मालत्यां श्रृङ्गारः । वीरचरिते वीरः । उत्तरे चरिते विप्रलंभपोषितस्स एव श्रृङ्गारः । सत्येवं प्रबन्धत्रये स्वीये कुत्राप्येतं रसं अङ्गिनमनादधतः अभिमततमोऽयं रस इति कथमिव वक्तुं पार्येत । अथ रामोत्तरे चरिते विलसत्यस्य सिद्धान्तविषयो रस इति साध्यते ; हन्त कुत्र वा नास्ति अयं रसः । 'एकोऽपि जीयते हन्त कालिदासो न केन चित् । श्रृङ्गारे ललितोद्गारे कालिदासत्रयी

किंमु'। इति शृङ्गारवर्णयितृत्वेन सुप्रसिद्धस्यापि कालिदासस्य ग्रन्थे किमु नोपलभ्यतेऽयं रसः ?। येनोच्चैरुद्घुष्यते भवभूतिरेव प्रभवति करुणवर्णने इति। अथात्र प्रधानतया वर्णितः करुणः न कालिदासीये दृश्ये दृश्यते इति अभिधीयते, तत्समीचीन एवायं हेतुरस्य कवेः श्लाघायाम्। अथापि नाध्यक्षयन्त्येते प्रतिपक्षिणोऽत्र करुणं प्रधानम्। 'वीरशृङ्गारयोरेकः प्रधानं यत्र वर्ण्यते। प्रख्यातनायकोपेतं नाटकं तदुदाहृतम्'। इत्यभियुक्तोक्त्या वीरशृङ्गारयोरन्यतर एव वर्णनीयः दृश्ये। सति चैवं पारम्पर्यतः श्रोत्रियशिखामणिः कविरसौ कुतो वा कारणादभियुक्तोक्तिं तृणयेत्। तृणीकृत्य निबध्नन् करुणात्मना दृश्यं कथं सद्भिरादियेत ? अनियमेन ग्रथितस्य चास्य नाटकस्य कथमिव नाटकत्वं सिध्येत्।

किं च करुणो हि शोकस्थायिकः। स च अमङ्गलप्रायः। तस्य च सदाचारप्रवर्तनपरत्वेन प्रवर्तिते दृश्यवर्त्मनि निवेशः सुतरामेव न युज्येत। सदाचारप्रवर्तनं प्रयोजनमाकलयद्भिर्हि नाटकादिगोष्ठी प्रवर्तितेति आनन्दवर्धनाचार्या अभिप्रयन्ति। अतो न युक्तमिदमाभाति यत् तेन कविना निबद्धमपि ऐदंपर्येण शृङ्गारमवधूय तत्रारोप्य करुणं कवयितुरपयशःसमार्जनमिति। एवं करुणं तत्र प्रसाधयन्तस्ते न तद्दृश्यविमर्शकाः इत्येव वक्तुमुचितम्। तथाह्यत्र प्रत्यक्षमेव शृङ्गारमुपलभामहे। स च सीतापरित्यागात्पूर्वं प्रथमेऽङ्के संभोगात्मनोपक्षिप्तः। अनन्तरं सविस्तरं विप्रलम्भेन परां कोटिमारोपितः। मध्ये च तृतीयाङ्के लेशतः संभोगमुपक्षिप्य विप्रलंभः अभूतपूर्वेण पथा सरसं परिपोषितः। तथाविधमुपबृंहितः शृङ्गारः अन्ते कविना संभोगात्मना निरूढश्च। तथा हि निर्वहणसन्धौ कवयिता रामायणोक्तकथाभागमपि ध्वनिकारदिग्दर्शनमनुरुध्य प्रतिभानप्रकर्षेण सहृदयसंवादानुसारं परमेण प्रयत्नेन संभोगशृङ्गारं निरुवाह। तदलं कवितल्लजेऽस्मिन् वृथापवादमुपक्षिप्य दोषगवेषणया। तथाह्यत्र भावार्थदीपिकाकारो नारायणः 'नायिकानायकयोः इतरेतरानुरागस्फुटीकरणस्यैव रसिकजनरसायनत्वात् तस्य च विप्रलंभपराकाष्ठायामेव संभवात् प्रियतमापरित्यागसमभिव्यंजितस्य संभोगपर्यन्तत्वे फलतो विप्रलंभरूपत्वात् विप्रलंभकरुणयोः माधुर्यस्य प्रकर्षवत्वाच्च सीतापरित्यागात्मकमिति' वृत्तं रसिकजनशिखामणिः भवभूतिः पर्यग्रहीदित्यभिधत्ते। तदेतावता रामोत्तरचरिते प्रधानः शृङ्गार एव, न पुनः करुण इति फलितम्॥

अत्रैवं समाधिरभिधीयते। किमिदं 'वीरशृङ्गारयो' रित्यादिलाक्षणिकानां वचनं वेदवाक्यमिव तथैव संग्राह्यं, आहो युक्तिसंयोजनस्याप्यस्त्यवसरः इति

पृच्छामः । यद्यत्र युक्तिरप्यवकाशं लभेत तदा प्रकृतं पद्यं प्रलापायितमापद्येत । तथाह्यनुयुंज्महे—कुतो वा वीरशृङ्गाराभ्यामन्यः करुणः नाटके न प्रधानेन प्रयोक्तव्य इति । यद्यभिनयानुगुणो न भवति करुणः हन्त शान्तस्य अनभिनेयत्वमभिप्रेत्य 'अष्टौ नाट्ये रसाः स्मृता' इति वादिनां मतमुन्मूलयता पण्डितराजेन अस्या युक्तेस्सुदूरमुदस्तत्वात् । तत्तद्रसानुगुणाभिनयाभ्यासेन तथाविधमभिनयतो नटस्य करुणाभिव्यंजकत्वं कुतो वा न संभाव्यते । नन्ववोचाम करुणस्य शोकस्थायिकत्वात् तद्वर्णनस्य अमंगलायितत्वात् न तन्नाटके प्रयुज्यत इति । तथात्वे श्रव्येऽपि सः न निवेशं लभेत । यथा नाटकगोष्ठी सदाचारप्रवर्तनपरा प्रवर्तिता तथा श्रव्यगोष्ठ्यपि । तत्रापि अमङ्गलवर्णनं कथंवा सद्भिस्संमन्येत । यद्वेदात्प्रभुसंमितात् अधिगतं इत्यादिना काव्यसामान्यस्यैकस्यैव लक्ष्यस्याभिहितत्वात् । अपि च प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्त्यात्मकसदाचारप्रवर्तने यथेतरेषां स्थायिनां प्रयोजकत्वं तथा शोकस्यापि । किमु तत्र मङ्गलत्वामङ्गलत्वकृतः तरतमभावोऽपि प्रयोजकतयापेक्षितः । यद्येव काव्ये वर्ण्यानां रसानां प्रतिपादनावसरे अनदर्हस्य प्रतिपादनं कथमिव संगच्छेत । अपि च यथा रौद्रादीनां कैश्चिन्निमित्तैर्नाटकानुपयुक्तत्वेऽपि तत्प्रभेदोपयुक्तता तद्वदस्याप्युपयोगमालक्ष्य तत्र परिगणितमिति उच्यते, तथापि अन्येषु दृश्यमानं निमित्तं प्रकृते न हि दृश्यते । पुत्रादिवियोगजन्मा शोकः अमङ्गलप्राय इति इदमेव तन्निषेधे निमित्तमभिधीयेत, विप्रलंभात्मकशृङ्गारस्याप्ययमेव परिणामः । सर्वांशतः करुणविप्रलंभे । अपिचैतादृशस्य अमङ्गलस्य अनुचिन्तनमपि अनुचितमाकलयद्भिः लक्षणविधायिभिः अप्राधान्येन निवेश्यमानोऽप्ययं नाभ्यनुज्ञेयः । किञ्च महानयमवसरश्चिन्तायाः यदादिकविर्भगवान् करुणात्मकमेव जग्रन्थ प्रबन्धम् । तस्य च तथाविधस्यापि इतरकाव्यापेक्षया पारम्यमेव समे समवलम्बन्ते । वेदतामप्यनुमन्यन्ते । स च कविविधाता तदनुध्यानेन महत्फलमाप्नुयाति । अथ तत्रापि शृङ्गार एव न करुणः, हन्त भवन्मते आचार्यानन्दवर्धनोऽपि व्यत्यस्तमतिः । स हि 'रामायणे हि करुणो रसः स्वयमादिकविना सूत्रितः, 'शोकः श्लोकत्वमागत' इत्येवंवादिना निर्व्यूढश्च स एव सीतात्यन्तवियोगपर्यन्तमेव स्वप्रबन्धमुपरचयता' इत्यभिदधानः भवतामसम्मतः । लाक्षणिका हि लक्ष्याण्यनुरुध्य प्रवर्तमानाः जाग्रति प्रामाणिकमूर्धन्यस्य काव्योत्तमे तत्राप्यादिकाव्ये तदनादरेण अन्यथा सिद्धान्तयितुं न कदाचित्कथंचिदपि पर्याप्ताः । नाटके पुनरस्य रसस्य पृथक्करणे नैव युक्तिमध्यक्षयामः । यतो 'भावानचेतनानपि चेतनवत् चेतनानचेतनवत् । व्यवहारयति यथेष्टं सुकविः

काव्ये स्वतन्त्रतया' इति न्यायेन कविशक्तेरानन्त्यात् अमङ्गलप्रायमपि कथयिता मङ्गलप्रायमादध्यात् । तत्कविशक्तिमसंभाव्य अनालोच्य च लाक्षणिकमर्यादां नैको रसः पृथक्कर्तव्यः । रामोत्तरचरिते अन्तर्नाटिकायां करुण एव रस इति अयं कविर्व्यक्तमभिधत्ते । यथा सूत्रधारः, 'प्राचेतसः आज्ञापयति यदिदमस्माभिरार्षेण चक्षुषा समुद्वीक्ष्य पावनं वचनामृतं करुणाद्भुतरसं च किंचिदुपनिबद्धं तत्र सगौरवमवधातव्य'मिति । यद्यस्य कवेरप्ययं नाटके अनभिमतः करुणः कथमेवं भाषेतेति भवन्त एव विदांकुर्वन्तु ॥

तदेवं दृश्ये करुणस्य असांगत्यपरिहारेऽपि प्रकृते रूपके शृङ्गार एव निबद्ध इत्यत्र किमस्ति बाधकम् ? इत्यनुयुज्यमाने कवेरस्याशयः समालोचनीयः लेशत इत्येव प्रार्थयामः । प्रकृतः कवयिता वल्मीकजन्मनि निरतिशयभक्तिमान् तत्कृतश्रव्यं प्रबन्धं दृश्यात्मना जग्रन्थेति अवश्यमेवेष्टव्यम् । ततो नु वीरचरिते 'प्राचेतसो मुनिवृषा प्रथमः कवीनां यत्पावनं रघुपतेः प्रणिनाय वृत्तम् । भक्तस्य तत्र समरंस्त ममापि वाचः तत्सु प्रसन्नमनसः कृतिनो भजन्ताम्' ॥ इति । अत्रास्य भक्तिबहूकृतस्य भावस्योपलब्ध्यैव उत्तरचरिते आदावेव निबद्धस्य 'इदं कविभ्यः पूर्वेभ्यः' इत्यस्य, 'पूर्वकविशब्देन वाल्मीकिरेव कविना बहुमानात् निर्दिष्टः' इति कस्यचन व्याख्यानं न वयं निषेद्धुं प्रभवामः । स एवं तद्भक्तः कविः वाल्मीकवर्णनविषयीभूतं रामायणवस्तु, श्रव्यात्मना ग्रथने पौनरुक्त्याद्बिभ्यदिव दृश्यात्मना ग्रथितवान् । आदर्शभूते च रामायणे करुण एव रस इति प्रत्यपादयाम । अथापि स रसः प्राधान्येन सर्वांगव्यापी उत्तरे चरित एव समाचकास्ति । यतो गतानुगतिको लोकः पूर्वोक्तामङ्गलाशंसया तत्पारायणादपि बिभ्यत् पट्टाभिषेकप्रकरणान्निवर्तते । पट्टाभिषेकान्ते च काण्डषट्के करुणस्य लेशत एवोन्मीलनात् वीर एव परमुत्कटः प्रतिभासते । रघुवरस्य अत्यन्तवीरायितं निखिलमपि चेष्टितं तत्रैव पर्याप्तमेधते । काण्डसप्तकस्याप्येकवाक्यतायां यद्यपि करुणः प्रधानो व्यवतिष्ठते तत्र च वीरः मुख्यमङ्गम् । अथापि रामायणं पूर्वोत्तरभागात्मना प्रभिन्नं वीरकरुणरसप्रधानत्वेन व्यपदेश्यं भवति । अतस्तद्भक्तोऽयं कविः प्रथमं चरितं वीरप्राधान्येन अग्रथ्नात् । उत्तरं च चरितं करुणात्मकमिति वक्तुमस्त्यवकाशः । तथाहि—वीरचरितस्यामुखे 'तेनेदमुद्धृतजगत्त्रयमन्युमूलं अस्तोकवीरगुरुसाहसमद्भुतं च । वीराद्भुतप्रियतया रघुनन्दनस्य धर्मद्रुहो दमयितुश्चरितं निबद्धम्' ॥ इति वादिना प्रतिज्ञातमेव वीरचरिते वीर एव रसः इति । अयं हि कविः सर्वत्र प्रतिपादनीयस्य रसस्य ग्रन्थादावेव प्रतिपादयन्वि-

लाक्ष्यते । यतो मालत्यामपि 'भूम्ना रसानां गहनाः प्रयोगाः सौहार्दहृद्यानि विचेष्टितेनि । औद्धत्यमायोजितकामसूत्रं चित्राः कथा वाचि विदग्धता च' ॥ इति श्रृङ्गारं प्रतिजानीते । अथैवं प्रतिज्ञानशीलोऽपि नोत्तरचरितादौ करुणं प्रतिजज्ञे । नापि श्रृङ्गारम् । विमर्शकमनःक्षोभमाधातुमेवैवं न प्रतिज्ञातवानिव, । वयं तु पश्यामः उत्तरचरितादावप्रस्तुवानोऽपि एनं रसं वीरचरितान्ते नैव न प्रास्तावीत् । द्वययोरनयोः एकनेतृत्वेन अविच्छेदमाकलय्यैव वीरचरितान्ते लेशतः प्रत्यपादयदिति तर्कयामः । उत्तरचरितादौ च वृत्तकथाप्रस्तावे वीरचरितानुपूर्वीमेव कक्षीकरोति । वीरचरिते सप्तमेऽङ्के महेश्वरः राममाशासानः 'एतावन्तं त्वया कालं युद्धवीरोऽवलम्बितः । धर्मदान-दयावीरास्त्वामिदानीमुपस्थिताः' ॥ इत्येवमभिवक्ते । सीतां विवासयन् रघूद्वहः धर्मवीरं अभिनीय किल प्रादर्शयत् । अत एवोत्तरे नाटके 'स्नेहं दयां च सौख्यं च यदि वा जानकीमपि । आराधनाय लोकस्य मुञ्चतो नास्ति मे व्यथा।' इति व्याहरति । अपि च कवयिता रामात् विजघटयिषुरेव सीतां अभिषेककाले बहुभि-र्बहुधा आशिषः कारयन् न कस्यापि मुखेन सीतया सह सुखमास्स्वेति वाच-यति । वाचिते च 'न हीश्वरव्याहृतयः कदाचित्पुष्णन्ति लोके विपरीतमर्थं' इति नीत्या सीतावियोगविषयः करुणः नावकाशं लभेत । यदि विप्रलम्भ एवाभिप्रेतः अन्ते च समागमः तदात्वे नास्याशिषस्तत्राप्रसक्तिर्युज्येत । यतः अल्पकालावधि विप्रलंभेऽपि तदनन्तरं महतां वाक्यावैयर्थ्याय भविष्यत्येव समागमः । तेन च सुखम् । विनैतं भावं कथमिव कवी रामभक्तः सह सीतया सुखमेधीत्याशिषं न वादयेत् । अनेवंभावोऽपि यदि नामैवं आशिषंकर्तुं विस्मरेत् कविः हन्त वञ्चित एव तदात्वे स्यादयं विफलया कवितया । यद्यस्य रामविषय-श्रृङ्गारवर्णन एवैदम्पर्यं: न तस्य पूर्वस्मिन्निव चरिते उत्तरस्मिन्नप्यव-काशः । यदि तादृशं कथाभागं श्रृङ्गारवर्णनानुकूलमवधूय अयमेव भागो गृह्येत हन्त भवभूतेः पाटवमन्यादृशमाविष्कृतं भवेत् । पूर्वचरिते धीरोदात्तस्य न-व्यतारुण्यस्य रामस्य सीतागतरतिभाववर्णनं हि रसं सपरीवाहं पुष्णीयात् । उत्तरे तु राघवः धर्मैकनिष्ठः अनतिक्रान्तयौवनोऽपि प्रायशोऽनुभूततारुण्य-फलः धर्मवीरेचितो भासते । नव्ययौवनविशेषिते पुरुषगौरये इव यौवनस्य द्वितीयं भागमधितिष्ठति वर्ण्यमाना रतिः न स्वदेतेत्यत्र रसिका एव प्रमाणम् । अपि चोत्तरे चरिते 'अनिर्भिन्नो गभीरत्वादन्तर्गूढघनव्यथः । पुटपाकप्रतीकाशः रामस्य करुणो रसः' इत्यादिभिः वचनैः करुणमेव प्रकृतं व्यनक्ति तत्र तत्र, न

श्रृङ्गारम् । अत एव 'एको रसः करुण एवे'त्यादि पद्यं प्रकृतदृश्यरसनिर्धारणे कुञ्चिकायितमाख्याति कोऽप्याङ्गलव्याख्याता । अयं च कविः आदित प्रभृति आदृश्यसमाप्ति करुणमविच्छेदेन निर्वोढुं कादृशं प्रयत्नमास्थितवान् इति अस्य वर्णनारीतिविवेचनावसरे स्पष्टयामः । अन्ते सीतासमागमस्यापि घटितत्वात् श्रृङ्गार एव रस इति यदभिप्रेतं तत्राप्युत्तरं सुलभमेव । किमन्तिमेनैकेन लेशेन सर्वोऽपि प्रबन्धः विपर्यासमेष्यति । यदि श्रृङ्गार एवाभिप्रेतः तर्हि कथमिव मालत्यामिव अत्रापि न वर्णयेत् । प्रकृतरसवर्णनेऽस्य अन्यादृशी नैपुणीति प्रतिपादयिष्यामहे ॥

किं चायमंशो नाटकेषु भरतवाक्यमिव पृथक्तयैवावभासते इति तत्परिशीलिनामनुभवः । रामभक्त्या तरलितमानसः कविः सीतावियोगेन तथा मूर्छन्तं परितपन्तं प्रलपन्तं चोपेक्षितुमसमर्थो भागमिमं घटयामास । अतोऽयं भागः करुणप्राधान्ये लेशतोऽपि बाधं नाधास्यति । यदुदितमस्माभिर्वीरचरितानुवाद उत्तरचरिते बहुलमुपलभ्यत इति तत्र 'ब्रह्मादयो ब्रह्महिताय तप्त्वा परस्सहस्रं शरदस्तपांसि । एतान्यदर्शन् गुरवः पुराणाः स्वान्येव तेजांसि तपोमयानि' ॥ 'जनकानां रघूणां च सम्बन्धः कस्य न प्रियः । यत्र दाता ग्रहीता च स्वयं कुशिकनन्दनः' । इत्यादि सुबहु विद्यत इति विस्तरभयान्न तत्संग्रहणे प्रयत्यतेऽस्माभिः । अन्यच्च चित्रदर्शनावसरे वीरचरितोपक्षिप्तामेव कथां प्रस्तुवानः तद्विरुद्धं अन्यग्रन्थत उपलभ्यमानं कथाभागमप्रस्तुवानश्च कवयिता तयोरेकचरितत्वमभिप्रैतीति नायं वक्तव्योंऽशः । तादियता प्रपञ्चेन उत्तररामचरितनाटके करुण एवाङ्गी, श्रृङ्गारदयश्च अङ्गभूता इति निर्णयामः ॥

अथेदानीं एतदीयकरुणस्य अन्यदीयात्तस्माद्भेदोपदर्शनाय तद्वर्णनाशैलीमत्रोपहरामः । कविरयं विनैवान्यरसस्य विशेषतः सम्बन्धं प्रकृतं रसं पुपोषति, पुष्यति च सर्वत्रेतिनेदं गूढतमं तद्ग्रन्थशीलिनाम् । तथाहि वीरचरिते आदिमस्य कथाभागस्य सुविस्तरस्य सत्वेऽपि रामगतस्य वीरस्य वर्णनाय विश्वामित्रसमागमानन्तरमेव विद्यतेऽवकाश इति तत एव दृश्यमारभते । मध्ये च सीताविवाहानन्तरं अयोध्यामागतस्य विस्तरतो वर्णनीयस्यापि श्रृङ्गारस्य लेशत एव वर्णनमाधत्ते, अल्पीयसोऽपि जामदग्न्यवृत्तान्तस्य अङ्कद्वयाधिकेन भागेन । ततो वनप्रस्थानं राममुखेन प्रस्तुवानः मन्थरागमनेन समर्थयंश्च तत्रत्यं महान्तं करुणाब्धिं कुत्रापि चुलुकयति । एवमयं प्रकृतरससमर्थनपरः तत्र तत्र अप्रकृतमङ्गभूतमपि रसं विशिष्य नादत्ते । एवं मालत्यामपि श्रृङ्गारम् ।

किं बहुना, प्रायः प्रत्यक्षरं प्रकृतरसनिष्यन्दो नैतदीये काव्ये इवान्यत्र द्रष्टुं सुशकः। अथापि सर्वत्र प्रकृतरसवर्णने जागरूकमपि कविं बलादवधूयेव करुणः परं उद्भिद्य निर्गतो विलोक्यते इति विशदनीय एवायं विषयः। अयं सर्वानपि रसान्पृथगाधाय प्रकृतमेव पारम्येण पोषयति। अथाप्यदसीयोक्तिः प्रकृतरसपोषणव्यग्रापि सती, एकतः प्रकृतं रसं अन्यतः करुणं च स्नावयतीति महाननेन करुणस्य सम्बन्धः। तथा ह्युत्तरे चरिते पञ्चमेऽङ्के प्रवृद्धे महाहवोन्मुखे वीरे लवोदितानि विक्रान्तवचनानि तदुचितं वीरं रसं पुष्णन्त्यपि प्रकरणज्ञैः पूर्वोत्तरपरामर्शकैः लवं च रामसुतं विजानद्भिः विशेषतः सीतारामवृत्तस्मरणोपजनितः करुण एवानुभूयते। न केवलमत्रैव यावद्वीरचरिते मालत्यां चैवमेव विलोक्यते। तथाहि वीरचरिते तृतीयेऽङ्के तपोवीरस्य स्फुरितकोपस्य विश्वामित्रस्य जामदग्न्यं प्रत्युक्तौ 'ब्रह्मक्षत्रसमाजमाक्षिपसि यद्वत्से च घोराशयः' इत्यादि पद्यं वीरकरुणौ युगपत्स्नावयति। अत्र वत्से घोराशयत्वं यद्यपि विशेषतः कोपकारणम्, अथापि वत्सघोराशयपदे कामपि करुणस्य काष्ठां व्यङ्क्तः। तथा वसिष्ठोक्तौ 'कामं हि नः स्वजन एष तथापि दर्पात् घोरं व्यवस्यति कथं तु भवेदवश्यः। सन्दूषितेन च मया सकृदीक्षितश्चेत् वत्सस्य भार्गवशिशोः दुरितं हि तत्स्यात्' वत्सस्य भार्गवशिशोरित्यादौ करुणरसविशेषो लक्ष्यते। एवं प्रायशः परामृश्यमाने करुणानुबन्धः अविच्छिन्नो विभाव्येत। मालत्यां प्रथमाङ्के शृङ्गाररसस्यन्दिनि माधवोदीरिते 'सन्तापसन्ततिमहाव्यसनाये'-त्यादि पद्येऽपि इयमेव कथा। सर्वेषां रसानामङ्गभावे श्रद्दधानोऽपि करुणकक्षीकारे अवश एव अवदधाति। मालत्यां विप्रलम्भात्मना शृङ्गारं बहूकरिष्णुः करुणमवतार्य शतशो मूर्च्छयति माधवम्। वनस्थलीं च वस्तुत एव रोदयन् वज्रस्यापि दलति हृदयम्। दशमाङ्कादौ कामन्दक्यादिगतत्वेन करुणमेव रसं सविशेषमुत्कर्षयति। पञ्चमे च बीभत्समन्तरा करुणमवतार्य मालतीगतेन तेनैव शृङ्गारमवतारयति। एवं वीरचरिते सीतावियोगे रामगतं विप्रलम्भं करुणात्मकमेव वर्णयति। तथा च लक्ष्मणोक्तिः'शोकाग्निरिव जङ्गमः' इति। एवं वियोगतप्तस्यापि जटाय्वालम्बनं करुणं विस्तृणाति। तदेवं करुणवशङ्गतस्य कवेः करुणात्मकेतिवृत्तप्रणयने सर्वतः श्लाघनीयं हि वैदग्ध्यम्। ततः स्थाने हि कालिदासो वदति 'नाटके भवभूतिर्वा वयं वा वयमेव वा। उत्तरे रामचरिते भवभूतिर्विशिष्यते' इति। सत्यमेव सहृदयाः 'अरसस्सरसो भवेद्द्रवं रसिकोऽपि द्रुततामवाप्नुयादि' ति रसनक्रमः अव्यभिचारेण भवभूतीयादन्यत्र कुत्र नाम समुपलभ्येत। उत्तरचरिताव-

लोकने हि प्रतिपदं क्षतसेतुबन्धन इवौघः प्रस्रवति करुणः । शम्बूकवधावसरे प्रयुक्तं 'रे हस्त दक्षिण मृतस्य शिशोर्द्विजस्ये'ति पद्यं कस्य वा कीदृशं वा हृदयग्रन्थिं न भेदयति । तृतीयांङ्के प्रवर्तितं ग्रावरोदनं चास्माकं समेषां प्रत्यक्षमेव । प्रथमाङ्कोपक्षिप्तानि 'त्वया जगन्ति पुण्यानि त्वय्यपुण्या जनोक्तयः । नाथवन्तस्त्वया लोकास्त्वमनाथा विपत्स्यसे ॥' 'प्रियां छद्मना परिददामि मृत्यवे सौनिके गृहशकुन्तिकामिव' 'अपूर्वकर्मचण्डालमयि मुग्धे विमुञ्च माम् । श्रितासि चन्दनभ्रान्त्या दुर्विपाकं विषद्रुमम् ॥' 'आतङ्कस्फुरितकठोरगर्भगुर्वीं क्रव्याद्भयो बलिमिव दारुणः क्षिपामि' इत्यादिपद्यानि स्मर्यमाणान्यपि तत्क्षणमेव रसपरवशमादधते हृदयम् । करुणात्मकस्य कवेः करुणात्मके सन्दर्भे स्थलविशेषे करुणाविष्करणं हासैकनिदानमापद्येत । तदत्रत्यान् द्वित्रान् विशेषान्परमुपवर्णयामः । पञ्चमेऽङ्के लवगतवीररसप्रस्तावे रामाधिक्षेपेण प्रकृतनायकापकर्षः कृतः कविना न शोभामावहति इति केषांचिद्दोषारोपणं न सामीचीन्यमेति । यतो राघवः सगर्भायास्सीताया विपत्तिमालोच्य आत्मानमप्रतिष्ठं मन्वानः परितपति । तदात्वे तस्य पुत्रात्पराभवे वर्ण्यमाने कोऽपि अपूर्वो रसपरीवाह अनुभूयत एव सामाजिकैः । सुमन्त्रोऽपि कथंचिदेवमाशङ्क्य तत्रासंभावनां 'लतायां पूर्वलूनायां प्रसवस्योद्भवः कुतः' इत्यादिना विवृण्वन् किमु करुणं न व्यनक्ति ? लवचन्द्रकेत्वोश्च युद्धसमुदाचारः उदार एव सन् पूर्ववृत्तमनुस्मारयन् सहृदयश्लाघ्य एव । अतो नात्राल्पमप्यनौचित्यं पञ्चमाङ्कप्रस्तावे निभालयामः । वीरचरितान्तप्रतिपादितनीत्या धर्मवीरतैवात्र निदानं समस्यापि करुणवृत्तस्य । तदेवं नैकोऽपि कविः ईदृक् करुणात्मकः एतावतापि कालेन नाविर्बभावबन्यामिति अस्य महाकवेः 'उत्पत्स्यते मम तु कोऽपि समानधर्मा' इति वचनप्रामाण्येन तादृशं महार्घं कालं प्रतिपालयामहे । तथाहि विश्वविदितः कालिदासोऽपि अस्य रसस्य वर्णने भवभूतेः शततमीमपि कलां नार्हतीति सधीरमभिदध्महे । अतो नु कोऽपि रसिकशिखामणिः, यदि शाकुन्तलपञ्चमांकं भवभूतिर्व्यलिखिष्यत् शकुन्तलां सामाजिकांश्च शतशोऽमूर्च्छयिष्यत्' इत्यभ्यधात् । समानोऽयं पन्थास्सार्थवाहवृत्तान्तेऽपि । शाकुन्तलापेक्षया उत्तररामचरिते चित्तद्रुतिविशेषः विनैव ग्रन्थावलोकनं सुशकः प्रतिपादयितुम् । तथाहि 'शृङ्गारे विप्रलम्भे च करुणे च प्रकर्षवत् । माधुर्यमार्द्रतां याति यतस्तत्राधिकं मनः' । इत्यानुभाविकस्सिद्धान्तः । यद्यपि दिङ्नागः कवयिता इदमेवेतिवृत्तं एतद्रसप्राधान्येन सर्वांशसारं कुन्दमालाख्यं विरचितवान् । ततश्च भवभूतेस्साम्येन उत्कर्षेण वा स संस्तूयते । अथापि निम्नेन

भावेन विलोक्यमाने कुन्दमाला बहुभिः अंशैः उत्तररामचरितमनुकरोति, लेशतश्च शाकुन्तलमिति स्पष्टमाचकास्ति । अद्यतनैः प्रामाणिकैश्चायं भावस्सम्मत एव । अस्माभिस्त्वत्र अस्य विषयस्य सविस्तरं प्रतिपादने अलब्धावकाशैः प्रतिज्ञामात्रेणोपरम्यते । तन्नास्त्येव भवभूतेस्समः करुणवर्णने इत्येव निश्चिनुमः । अतः भरतवाक्ये प्रकृतेन कविना सत्यमेवाभ्यधायि 'शब्दब्रह्मविदः कवेः परिणतप्रज्ञस्य वाणीमिमामिति ॥

यस्मादिह निरालम्बैः अस्माभिः परिनिश्चिताः ।
भावाः केऽप्यत्र विद्वाद्भिः क्षन्तव्यमसमञ्जसम् ॥

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VEDIC STUDIES

BY

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.

§ 1.15. *The Act of Truth in the Ṛgveda.*[1]

An Act of Truth is the utterance of a proposition that is true with the intention, which may or may not be expressed in words, that the object of the speaker may be realised by such utterance. Prof. E. W. BURLINGAME has published an informative paper on this subject in JRAS. 1917, 429 ff., from which I extract the following passages:

"An Act of Truth is a formal declaration of fact, accompanied by a command or resolution or prayer that the purpose of the agent shall be accomplished. For example, a hunter asks a sage how a certain nymph can be captured, and the sage replies: Nymphs can be captured by the utterance of a truth; nor, under such circumstances, have they power to vanish from sight". Accordingly the hunter says to the nymph he desires to capture: "You are the beautiful daughter of King Druma; if this be true, halt! you are bound fast! If it be true that you are the daughter of King Druma and that you were reared by the king, move not a foot, O fair Manoharā!" By the utterance of this truth on the part of the hunter the nymph addressed is immediately bound fast, and is unable to vanish from sight; but all her companions vanish into the air. . . . . A single truth is sufficient; and, as in the examples cited, a truth of the most commonplace sort. As a rule the Act of Truth refers to some such fact as that the agent, or the person on whose behalf the Act is performed, possesses certain good qualities or is free from certain evil qualities; that he has done certain things he ought to have done, or that he has left undone certain things he ought not to do. . . . . In connection with the Power of Truth are sometimes mentioned Powers of Righteousness, such as the power of goodness and the power of merit; and as well

1. The abbreviation VVSt is used here to denote the author's *Vedic Studies*, Vol. I. (published in 1932).

the superhuman might of spirits, deities, and Buddhas. Such mention does not mean, however, that the Act of Truth in any way depends for its efficacy upon the co-operation of these other forces, powerful though they are. Truth, in and by itself all-powerful and irresistible, is essentially distinct from them, and operates independently of them. Truth, to the exclusion of any ordinary physical power or cause, is the sole power whereby the conjurer causes rain to fall, fire to turn back, poison to be struck down. There is nothing that cannot be accomplished by the Truth. Men, gods, powers of nature, all animate and inanimate things alike obey the Truth. Even the Buddhas themselves employ Acts of Truth. The Act of Truth commonly takes the form of a spell or charm, most often that of a healing charm . . . it is the stock in trade by which men play, one after another, the parts of wizard, conjurer, magician, physician, surgeon, good Samaritan, rain-maker, prophet, and priest. . . . The Pāli word for "Act of Truth" is *saccakiriyā*. . . . The spell is sometimes referred to as a "Truth-Utterance:" Pāli *saccavajja*, Sanskrit *satya-vādya*; Pāli *saccavacana*, Sanskrit *satyavacana*; Sanskrit *satyopavācana, satyavākya, satyaśrāvaṇa*. Sometimes it is called simply a "Truth": Pāli *saccam*, Sanskrit *satyam*. The formula used varies considerably. . . . The formal utterance under such circumstances and for such purposes as have been mentioned is in fact a magic art of the most primitive sort. The fundamental concept underlying it is not peculiar to the Buddhists or to the Hindus, but is, and always has been, the common possession of all races of mankind".

It hardly needs to be pointed out that the purpose sought to be accomplished by an act of truth is not, generally, one that can be accomplished by ordinary means. That is to say, the purpose for which an act of truth is employed, is, in most cases, the performance of a miracle;[1] see Oldenberg's *Religion des Veda*, p. 519, n. 2.

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1. Compare in this connection 2 *Kings*, i, 10-12: "And Elijah answered and said to the captain of fifty. If I be a man of God, then let fire come down from heaven and consume thee and thy fifty. And there came down fire from heaven, and consumed him and his fifty".

In the paper in question, Prof. BURLINGAME has cited many examples of acts of truth; I shall cite some here, mostly from the epics:

1. *Rāmāyaṇa*, 2, 64, 40: The father of the ascetic youth killed by King Daśaratha in the forest says:

apāpo'si yathā putra nihataḥ pāpakarmaṇā|
tena satyena gacchāśu ye lokās tvastra-yodhinām||

2. *Mahābhārata*, 3, 269, 21: Draupadī says to her abductor Jayadratha:

yathā vāhaṃ nāticare kathaṃ cit
patīn mahārhān manasāpi jāta|
tenādya satyena vaśīkṛtaṃ tvāṃ
draṣṭā 'smi pārthaiḥ parikṛṣyamāṇam||

3. *Ibid.*, 8, 98, 45 ff.: Arjuna fits an arrow into his bow and kills Karṇa with it:

tatas tu taṃ vai śaram aprameyaṃ
Gāṇḍīva-dhanvā dhanuṣī vyayojayat|
yuktvā mahāstreṇa pareṇa cāpaṃ
vikṛṣya Gāṇḍīvam uvāca satvaram|| 45
ayaṃ mahāstra-prahilo mahā-śaraḥ
śarīrahṛc cāsu-haraś ca durhṛdaḥ|
tapo 'sti taptaṃ guravaś ca toṣitā
mayā yadiṣṭaṃ suhutaṃ yadi śrutam|| 46
anena satyena nihantv ayaṃ śaraḥ
susaṃhitaḥ Karṇam ariṃ mamorjitam|
ity ūcivāṃs taṃ pramumoca bāṇaṃ
Dhanaṃjayaḥ Karṇa-vadhāya ghoram|| 47
tenārjunas tan mahanīyam asya
śiro 'harat sūta-putrasya rājan|| 50cd

4. *Ibid.* 14, 69, 17-25s Kṛṣṇa revives the dead child of Uttarā:

pratijajñe ca Dāśārhas tasya jīvitam Acyutaḥ|
abravīc ca viśuddhātmā sarvaṃ viśrāvayan jagat|| 17
na bravīmy Uttare mithyā satyam etad bhaviṣyati|
eṣa saṃjīviyāmy enaṃ paśyatāṃ sarva-dehinām|| 18
nokta-pūrvaṃ mayā mithyā svaireṣv api kadācana|
na ca yuddhāt parāvṛttas tathā saṃjīvatām ayam|| 19
yathā me dayito dharmo brāhmaṇāś ca viśeṣataḥ|
Abhimanyos suto jāto mṛto jīvatv ayaṃ tathā|| 20

yathā 'haṃ nābhijānāmi vijaye tu kadācana|
virodhaṃ tena satyena mṛto jīvatv ayaṃ śiśuḥ|| 21
yathā satyaṃ ca dharmaś ca mayi nityaṃ pritiṣṭhitaḥ|
tathā mṛtaḥ śiśur ayaṃ jīvatād Abhimanyujaḥ|| 22
yathā Kaṃsaś ca Keśī ca dharmeṇa nihatau mayā|
tena satyena bālo 'yaṃ punaḥ saṃjīvatām iha|| 23
ity uktvā Vāsudevo 'tha taṃ bālaṃ Bharatarṣabha|
pādena kamalābhena Brahma-Rudrārcitena ca|
pasparśa Puṇḍarīkākṣa āpāda-tala-mastakam|| 24
spṛṣṭa-mātras tu Kṛṣṇena sa bālo Bharatarṣabha|
śanaiś-śanair mahārāja prāpadyata sa cetanām|| 25

5. *Divyāvadāna.* p. 154-55: Ānanda restores to Prince Kāla his feet and hands that had been cut off: upasaṃkramya Kālasya rāja-kumārasya hastapādān yathā-sthāne sthāpayitvaivam āha| ye kecit sattvā apadā vā dvipādā vā bahupadā vā yāvan naiva saṃjñino nāsaṃjñinas Tathāgato 'rhan samyaksambuddhas teṣāṃ sattvānām agra ākhyātaḥ| ye kecid dharmāḥ saṃskṛtā vā 'saṃskṛtā vā virāgo dharmas teṣām agra ākhyātaḥ| ye kecit saṃghā vā gaṇā vā yugā vā parṣado vā Tathāgataśrāvaka-saṃghas teṣām agra ākhyātaḥ| anena satyena satyavākyena tava śarīraṃ yathā-paurāṇaṃ bhavatu| sahābhidhānāt Kālasya rāja-kumārasya śarīraṃ yathā-paurāṇaṃ saṃvṛttam.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 613: The Buddha sets free Ānanda from the mantras that bind him: sarah prasannaṃ nirdoṣaṃ praśāntaṃ sarvato 'bhayam| ītayo yatra śāmyanti bhayāni calitāni ca|| taṃ vai devā namasyanti sarva-siddhāś ca yoginaḥ| etena satyavākyena svasty Ānahdaya bhikṣave|| athāyuṣmān Ānandaḥ patihata-caṇḍāla-mantraś caṇḍāla-gṛhān niṣkramya yena svako vihāras tenopasaṃkramitum ārabdhaḥ.

7. *Tantrākhyāyikā,* p. 20. The adulterous wife of the weaver says to him: dhig ghatosi| ko mām anāgasaṃ virūpayituṃ samarthaḥ| śṛṇvantu me lokapālāḥ yathāhaṃ kaumāraṃ bhartāraṃ muktvā nānyaṃ parapuruṣaṃ manasāpi vedmi tathā mamānena satyena avyaṅgam mukham astu.

It will be observed that Ānanda (in example no. 5), when performing the act of truth, utters a single spell that is very long, while Kṛṣṇa (in no. 4) makes use of five spells in performing one act of truth.

I have already cited above Burlingame's observation that the act of truth is not peculiar to the Hindus or Buddhists but

has always been in use among all races of mankind. It should not therefore cause one any surprise to find that the RV contains many passages which refer to such acts. These passages are:

(1) 1, 161, 9: āpo bhūyiṣṭhā ity eko abravīd
agnir bhūyiṣṭha ity anyo abravīt|
vadharyantīṃ bahubhyaḥ praiko abravīd
ṛtā vadantaś camasāñ apiṃśata||

Hymn 1, 161 is addressed to the Ṛbhus, the semi-divine beings, who, having been born men, attained divinity and a share in sacrificial offerings; and like the other hymns addressed to them, this hymn too mentions the five wonderful deeds performed by them. These are—(1) the making of a chariot which is horseless, rimless, three-wheeled and traverses space (v. 3); (2) the making of two bay horses which yoke themselves to the chariot (v. 3); (3) the making of a nectar-yielding cow from a hide (v. 3, 7); (4) the rejuvenation of their parents who were old and frail (v. 3, 7); and (5) making into four the one drinking cup originally fashioned by Tvaṣṭṛ (v. 4, 9).

The last-mentioned feat is the one that is most frequently mentioned by the RV poets (see MACDONELL, *Ved. Myth.*, p. 133), and seems to have been thought the greatest. The exact manner in which the Ṛbhus fashioned four cups out of one is indicated to us by the epithet *caturvayam* 'four-fold' used in connection with this feat in 1, 110, 3 and the statement, "The eldest said, 'I shall make two cups'; the younger, 'we will make three'; the youngest said, 'I shall make four' contained in 4, 33, 5. These show that the cup was first duplicated by one of the Ṛbhus cutting off, on the inside or outside of the cup, a fairly thick layer so that, instead of the original cup, there were now two, one fitting inside the other, and that this process was repeated by the second Ṛbhu and the third. The thickness of the cup was thus thrice reduced, and there came into existence, in place of the original cup, four cups forming a nest.

The above-cited verse deals with this feat, and it presents to us the *satya-vacana* or spell of truth employed by each of the three Ṛbhus in accomplishing the above feat. The spell employed by the first Ṛbhu was, *āpo bhūyiṣṭhāḥ.* The 'Waters

are the greatest'; and that employed by the second was *agnir-bhūyiṣṭhaḥ* 'Fire is the greatest'.

The spell employed by the third Ṛbhu is reproduced only indirectly by the poet in pāda c; in all probability, it was similar to the spells used by the first two Ṛbhus and read as *vadharyantī bhūyiṣṭhā*. The first of these two words, *vadharyantī*, is a hap. leg.; Sāyaṇa, in his RV commentary, explains it as 'bank of clouds (*megha-paṅkti*)' or 'earth (*bhūmi*)', LUDWIG, hesitatingly as 'lightning' or 'fulgurating cloud', GRASSMANN as 'lightning' or 'bolt of lightning', HILLEBRANDT (*Lieder d. RV.*, p. 94) as 'thuderbolt-hurler (fem.)',[1] and Geldner (*RV. Uber.*) as 'the season of thunderstorms or rain'. Now, *vadhar* denotes, as pointed out by Sāyaṇa on the authority of Nighaṇṭu, 2, 20, 'thunder-bolt'; and I agree therefore with Hillebrandt in interpreting *vadharyantī* as 'thunderbolt-hurler (fem.)' Like *āpaḥ* and *agniḥ*, however, this epithet too must denote a deity. Now, the deities that are predominantly described as thunderbolt-hurlers in the RV, are (1) Indra (cf. MACDONELL, *op. cit.*, p. 55: "The thunder-bolt, *vajra*, is the weapon exclusively appropriate to Indra. It is the regular mythological name of the lightning stroke" and the observations that follow on that page; see also p. 59), and (2) Dyaus; cf. 4, 17, 13: *vibhañjanur aśanimāñ iva dyauḥ* 'like Dyaus; hurling the thunder-bolt and destroying'; 1, 176, 3: *spāśayasva yo asmadhrug divyevāśanir jahi* 'reveal him who is hostile to us, kill him like the thunder-bolt of heaven'; 1, 143, 5: *na yo varāya marutām iva svanaḥ senevy sṛṣṭā divyā yathāśaniḥ* 'who, like the rush of the Maruts, like a missile that has been hurled, like the thunderbolt of heaven, is not to be stopped". The name of the first-named deity, *Indra*, is always masculine, while that of the other, *dyauḥ*, is frequently used in the feminine also; see MACDONELL, *op. cit.*, p. 22 and the literature cited therein. It follows hence that the epithet *vadharyantī* can denote Dyaus only and not Indra.

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1. In spite of the feminine gender, however, HILLEBRANDT (*Ved. Myth.* 3, p. 141) seems to interpret *vadharyantī* as Indra.

I therefore translate the verse as: "One said, 'The Waters are the greatest'; another said, 'Agni is the greatest'; another declared the sky (Dyaus) to surpass many. Speaking truths, did ye cut the drinking cups".

In pāda c, we have to supply, after *pra*, a word like *riricānā* (see GRASSMANN's observations s. v. *pra*). The expression *bahubhyaḥ pra* is thus obviously a periphrasis for *bhūyiṣṭhā* which seems to refer here to size (*parimāṇa*), or alternatively, to power or might. Concerning the greatness of the Waters, compare 8, 3, 10: *yenā samudram asṛjo mahīr apas tad indra vṛṣṇi te śavaḥ| sadyaḥ so asya mahimā na sannaśe yaṃ kṣoṇīr anucakrade* "Great is that strength of thine, O Indra, by which thou didst send forth the great Waters towards the ocean. That greatness of his at which the worlds have cried out is not to be measured in a moment"; 8, 6, 16: *yas ta indra mahīr apaḥ stabhūyamāna āśayat| ni taṃ padyāsu śiśnathaḥ* "Him, O Indra, who lay hemming the mighty Waters, thou didst smite in the feet" and the other verses (see GRASSMANN, s. v. *mahīḥ*) containing the expression *mahīr apaḥ*. In connection with the greatness of Agni, compare MACDONELL, *op. cit.*, p. 38: "Agni is a divine (*asura*) monarch (*samrāj*) strong as Indra (7, 6, 1). His greatness surpasses that of mighty heaven (1, 59, 5). He is greater than heaven and earth (3, 6, 2; 10, 88, 14), than all the worlds, which he filled when born (3, 3, 10). He is superior to all the other gods in greatness (1, 68, 2)" and the other observations that follow. Regarding the greatness of Dyaus, compare 6, 21, 2: *yasya divam ati mahnā pṛthivyāḥ purumāyasya ririce mahitvam* "whose greatness surpassed that of Dyaus and of the earth"; 1, 59, 5: *divaś cit te bṛhato jātavedo vaiśvānara pra ririce mahitvam* "Thy greatness, O Agni Vaiśvānara, surpassed that of the great Dyaus even"; 1, 55, 1: *divaś cid asya varimā vi papratha indraṃ na mahnā pṛthivī cana prati* "his vastness has spread even beyond the sky; even the earth is not equal to him in greatness" and the verses (see GRASSMANN s. v. *mahī*) in which the epithet *mahī* is applied to Dyāvā-pṛthivī and Rodasī. Compare also the

following sentences in the section on *Bhūma-vidyā* in the Chāndogyopaniṣad (7, 10 ff.) : *āpo vyvānnād bhūyaḥ . . . tejo vā adbhyo bhūyaḥ . . . ākāśo vāva tejaso bhūyān*, and note that the trinity of *āpaḥ, tejaḥ* and *ākāśaḥ* mentioned here is almost identical with the trinity of *āpaḥ, agniḥ* and *dyauḥ* (*vadharyantī*) mentioned in 1, 161, 9.

It is doubtful if the significance of the expression *ṛtā vadantaḥ* has been perceived by Sāyaṇa and the other interpreters. Sāyaṇa's commentary on this verse reads as follows: camasa-caturdhā-karaṇa-kāle kim iti satyaṃ vadanto vyabhajanniti tad āha| ekaḥ trayāṇām anyatamaḥ āpo bhūyiṣṭhāḥ iti abravīt| nahi udakāt praśastaṃ lokopakārakaṃ tattvāntaram asti| āpo bhūyiṣṭhāḥ iti ṛtam avādīt| apām eva śreṣṭhatvam 'apa eva sasarjādau' (*Manu.* 1, 8) ity-ādi-śāstrāt| tathā anyaḥ agnir bhūyiṣṭha iti abravīt| āntaraṃ bāhyaṃ ca dāha-pāka-bhukta-jaraṇādi-vyāpāreṇa agner eva jagan-nirvāhakatvād agner eva bhūyiṣṭhatvam ity eva manyate| tathā vadharyantīṃ vadhar iti rephāntaḥ api vajra-nāma, 'vadhaḥ, arkaḥ' (*Nighaṇṭu* 2, 20, 7) iti tan-nāmasu pāṭhāt| tad icchati vṛṣṭy-udakāyeti vadharyantī megha-paṅktir ucyate| yadyapīyaṃ sva-vadhārthaṃ vajraṃ svayam eva nāpekṣate tathāpi vṛṣṭyartham indra-vajreṇa hanyamānatvāt tad icchatīty upacaryate| yad vā| bahubhyaḥ teṣām arthāya vadharyantīṃ vadham ātmana icchantīṃ bhūmim| chāndaso rephopajanaḥ| tām eva ekaḥ bahubhyaḥ saṃvādibhyaḥ śreṣṭhatamām abravīt| udakasyāpi megha-karaṇatvāt| evam ṛtā ṛtāni ukta-rūpāṇi yathārthāni vākyāni vadantaḥ parāsparaṃ bruvantaḥ camasān apiṃśata avayavino 'kuruta caturdhā vyabhajata ity arthaḥ| 'piśa avayave'; 'śe mucādīnām' iti num| idam eva ṛta-vadanam apekṣya ṛbhu-śabdaṃ vyācakṣāṇo Yāskaḥ 'ṛbhava uru bhāntīti vā ṛtena bhāntīti vā ṛtena bhavantīti vā' (*Nirukta* 11, 15) ity uktavān||

The expression *kim iti satyaṃ vadantaḥ* and also the reference to Yāska's derivation of the word *ṛbhu* seem to indicate that Sāyaṇa has understood that the quadruplication of the drinking cup is the effect of the spells of truth uttered by the *Ṛbhus*. On the other hand, his explanation *ṛtāni ukta-rūpāṇi yathārthāni vākyāni vadantaḥ parasparaṃ bruvantaḥ* seems to indicate otherwise; for, as becomes evident from the examples cited above, spells of truth were spoken, not to particular individuals, but to the world at large.

HILLEBRANDT (*l. c.*) translates *ṛtā vadantaḥ* as 'keeping (your) words', GRASSMANN (*ṚV. Ueber.*) as 'speaking good words', and Ludwig as 'speaking truly'. Geldner (*l. c.*) translates as 'saying true words to one another' and adds the following note: "9 is the amplification of st. 1d (there *bhūtim*, here *bhūyiṣṭhāḥ*). The words were spoken while they fashioned the cups. Each one of them expresses a different opinion on the question as to what has contributed most to the formation of the wood [of which the cup was made], the fire (in plants), the rain-water, or the *Vadharyantī*. This is, according to Sāyaṇa, the bank of clouds or the earth that longs for the lightning. The earth, in fact, would suit well as the third element. If one accepts the meaning 'season of storms, season of rain', one should then supply after *bahubhyaḥ* the word *ṛtubhyaḥ*. The ablative with *pra+brū* as with *pra+as*". It is thus the belief of these interpreters that the *Ṛbhus*' utterance of the truths is an accident and is not in any way connected with their fashioning of the cups.

This opinion is, as we have seen above, erroneous; and this is shown, further, by verse 6, 47, 3 [=TS. 3, 1, 9, 2] of the AV.[1]: *idaṃ tṛtīyaṃ savanaṃ kavīnāṃ ṛtena ye camasam airayanta| te saudhanvanās svar ānyāḥ svaśaniṣṭiṃ no abhi vasyo nayantu.* This verse too is addressed to the *Ṛbhus* and speaks of their feat in connection with the drinking cup. Pāda c of this verse is translated by WHITNEY (p. 315) as 'who rightfully (*ṛtena*) sent out the bowls', by LUDWIG (*Der ṚV.*, III, 429) as 'who made the goblets apart in due order',

1. Durga, when explaining Yāska's words, *tad etad Ṛbhoś ca bahuvacanena camasasya ca saṃstavena bahūni daśatayīṣu sūktāni bhavanti* (Nirukta 11, 16), has observed, *tad yathā: idaṃ tṛtīyaṃ savanaṃ kavīnām ṛtena ye camasam airayanta.* Similarly, Skandasvāmin and Maheśvara too, when explaining the same passage, have observed, *tad etad ārbhavāni 'kimu śreṣṭha' ityasya sat-kṛtasya saṃstavena-yuktāni sarvargveda-śākhāsu bahūni sūktāni vidyante| tad yathā: idaṃ tṛtīyaṃ savanaṃ kavīnām ṛtena ye camasam airayanta iti.* And thus, according to these commentators, this mantra is found in all the *śākhās* of the *Ṛgveda*. In reality, it is not found in the extant version of the *Ṛgveda-saṃhitā*.

and by Prof. Berriedale Keith (*Translation of the Taittirīya-saṃhitā*) as 'who righteously set the beaker in motion'. These renderings of *ṛtena airayanta* are all wrong. In the first place, none of the fifteen *RV* verses that refer to this feat of the *Ṛbhus* contains any verb signifying 'to send out'; the verbs used in them are, *kṛ* (10 times; see 1, 20, 6; 110, 3; 161, 2; 4, 33, 5. 6; 35, 2.3.4. 5; 36, 4), *nind* (twice; see 1, 161, 1.5) *mā* 'to measure' (once; see 1, 110, 5) and *piś* 'to cut' (twice; see 1, 161, 9; 3, 60, 2). Now, the verb *īr*, even by itself, and uncompounded with *vi*, has the sense of 'to cut'; compare 10, 122, 2: *ghṛtanirṇig brahmaṇe gātum eraya* 'cut a way for the prayer, O thou that art clothed in ghee'; 2, 17, 1: *viśvā yad gotrā sahasā parīvṛtā made somasya dṛṃhitāny airayat* 'when he, in the intoxication of Soma-juice, cut open in a moment all the solid mountains (and set free) what had been confined'; and hence there is no doubt that it has that sense in this verse also. Secondly, *ṛtena* too signifies 'by truth', that is, 'by the spell of truth' (compare the analogous use of its equivalent, *satyena*, in the passages cited above from the Mahābhārata, Divyāvadāna and Rāmāyaṇa). The meaning of AV. 6, 47, 3 is thus: "This third libation (is) for the poets who cut out the drinking cup by means of a truth(-spell); let those (*Ṛbhus*), sons of Sudhanvan who have attained heaven, conduct our well-made offering unto what is better". The epithet *kavi* in pāda a is apposite and refers to the ability of the *Ṛbhus* in composing mantras or spells of truth. The epithet *svar ānaśānāḥ* in *c* refers to the *Ṛbhus*' attainment of immortality (*amṛtatvam*; cp. 1, 110, 4). As pointed out by Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara in his commentary (on TS 3, 1, 9, 2: *ye ṛtena satyena camasaṃ camasān jātāv ekavacanam| preritavantaḥ kṛtavanta ity arthaḥ*), *camasam* in pāda *b* stands really for plural *camasān*. Compare also Sāyaṇa's explanation *camasaṃ soma-bhakṣaṇa-patram ekam airayanta prairayanta caturdhā vibhāgena caturaś camasān akurvan.*

(2) 4, 35, 5-6: jyeṣṭha āha camasā dvā kareti
kanīyān trīn kṛṇavāmety āha|
kaniṣṭha āha caturas kareti
tvaṣṭa ṛbhavas tat panayad vaco vaḥ||

satyam ūcur nara evā hi cakrur
anu svadhām ṛbhavo jagmur etām|
vibhrājamānāṁś camasān ahevā-
venat tvaṣṭā caturo dadṛśvān ||

These verses too are addressed to the *Ṛbhus* and speak of their quadruplication of the drinking cup. Their meaning is: "The eldest said, 'I shall make two cups'; the younger said, 'Let us make three'; the youngest said, 'I shall make four'. O ye Ṛbhus, Tvaṣṭṛ assented to this word (*i.e.*, proposition) of yours. The men uttered (spells of) truth. They did as they had said; the *Ṛbhus* followed up their suggestion. Seeing the four drinking cups, resplendent like days, *Tvaṣṭṛ* conceded (that the *Ṛbhus* had carried out their word and quadruplicated the drinking cup)".

The meaning of *panayat* in verse 5 and of *avenat* in verse 6 is not clear. Sāyaṇa explains both words as *aṅgīcakāra*, and seems to understand *panayat* as 'praised the offer of the *Ṛbhus* as being very fair and accepted it' and *avenat* as 'conceded that they had carried out their word', the offer being that, in case they quadruplicated the cup, they should become immortal. GELDNER (*op. cit.*) and LUDWIG understand *panayat* as 'praised' and BERGAIGNE (III, 55) as 'approved', while *avenat* has been understood by these scholars as 'was astonished', 'was pleased', and 'was charmed' respectively. On the other hand, PISCHEL has contended (*Ved. St.*, 1, 201) that *panayat* signifies 'laid a bet; made a wager' and *avenat*, 'became angry', while GRASSMANN (*RV. Ueber.*) understands them as 'was astonished' and 'became envious' respectively.

With *satyam ūcuḥ* in 6a should be compared *ṛtā vadantaḥ* in 1, 161, 9d explained above, and *ṛtena* in AV. 6, 47, 3 likewise explained above.

The above passage and 1, 161, 9 supplement each other in the following respect: 4, 33, 4-5, while stating fully what the purpose of each *Ṛbhu* was in performing the act of truth, does not reproduce the wording of the spells of truth (*satya-vacana*) employed by them; 1, 161, 9, on the other hand, does not state the purpose of each *Ṛbhu*, but gives the wording of the spells used by them.

The only other mantra known to me (besides 10, 35, 8 and 10, 37, 2 explained below) that reproduces the wording of a spell of truth is AV. 4, 18, 1: *samam jyotiḥ sūryeṇāhnā rātrī samāvatī| kṛṇomi satyam ūtaye 'rasāḥ santu kṛtvarīḥ||* 'Light is coeval with the sun; night is equal to the day'. "For protection do I perform (this act of) truth; may the makers (fem.) [of witchcraft] become impotent". Pādas ab contain the spell(s) of truth pronounced by the agent with the twofold object of making witchcraft impotent and of protecting himself against it. Regarding the use of the verb *kṛ* in *satyaṃ kṛṇomi*, compare the Pāli term *sacca-kiriyā*, and the expression *sacca-kiriyāṃ kṛ* that is used in *Milindapañha* 119 ff., and *Jātakas* 20, 35, 444 and 540 (see also *JRAS*. 1917, pp. 437 ff., 445, 446, 447 and 448 where a translation is given of these passages).

Sāyaṇa's explanation of the verse is as follows: sūryeṇa ādityena tadīyaṃ jyotiḥ prabhā-maṇḍalaṃ samaṃ samānaṃ eva bhavati na kadācit tena viyujyate| rātrī| 'rātreś cājasau' iti ṅīp| rātriś ca ahnā samāvatī samānāyāmā | sama-śabdāt āvatu-pratyayaḥ svārthikaḥ| yathaivaṃ prabhā-prabhāvator divā-rātryoś ca samānatvaṃ yathārthaṃ tatha satyaṃ yathārthaṃ karma kṛṇomi karomi| kimartham| ūtaye abhicaryamāṇasya puruṣasya rakṣaṇārtham| tasmāt kṛtvarīḥ kartana-śīlāḥ kṛtyāḥ arasāḥ śuṣkāḥ kāryāsamarthāḥ santu bhavantu; and it seems therefore as if he has rightly understood the meaning of the expression *satyaṃ kṛṇomi*.

(3) 4, 36, 4: ekaṃ vi cakra camasaṃ caturvayaṃ
niś carmaṇo gām ariṇīta dhītibhiḥ|
athā deveṣv amṛtatvam ānaśa
śruṣṭī vājā ṛbhavas tad va ukthyam||

This verse too is addressed to the *Ṛbhus*. I translate: "By means of spells did ye make the one drinking cup fourfold, did ye make the cow come out from the hide. Thus did ye, through obedience, attain immortality among the gods; it, O ye Vājas, ye Ṛbhus, is worthy of praise".

Dhītibhiḥ in pāda b and also in 1, 161, 7a has been interpreted as 'with wisdom; with skill' by GRASSMANN (*RV.Ueber.*), 'with inventive power' by LUDWIG and by GELDNER (*op. cit.*) and as 'with skill' by HILLEBRANDT (*op. cit.*). These interpre-

tations are wrong, and the word has, in both pādas, the usual meaning of *mantra* or spell. In this verse, *dhītibhiḥ* is to be construed with *vicakra* also in a. We have already seen above that the mantras used by the *Ṛbhus* for quadruplicating the drinking cup were spells of truth. We learn therefore from this verse that the *Ṛbhus* employed spells of truth in the making of the cow also.

Śruṣṭī in d refers to the tasks which were laid on the *Ṛbhus* by the gods. It was required of the *Ṛbhus* that they should (1) quadruplicate the drinking cup, (2) make a horse, (3) make a cow, (4) make a chariot, and (5) rejuvenate their parents; and, on accomplishing these tasks, they were to become immortal and entitled to a share of the sacrificial offerings. See 1, 161, 2-4.

(4) 1, 161, 7: niś carmaṇo gām ariṇīta dhītibhir
yā jarantā yuvaśā tā 'kṛṇotana |
saudhanvanā aśvād aśvam atakṣata
yuktvā ratham upa devān ayātana ||

This verse also is addressed to the *Ṛbhus*. The meaning is: "By means of spells, ye made the cow come out of the hide, made youthful the two (parents) who were old; ye fashioned a horse from a horse, O ye sons of Sudhanvan; yoking the chariot, ye went to the gods".

Dhītibhiḥ in a is to be construed with *akṛṇotana* in b, and *atakṣata* in c also. We have seen above that the *Ṛbhus* used spells of truth (1) for quadruplicating the drinking cup, and (2) for making the cow come out of the hide. We learn from this verse that they used such spells for rejuvenating their parents and for fashioning the horse also.

It is suggested by BERGAIGNE (II, 410, n. 2) that the expression *aśvād aśvam atakṣata* in pāda b signifies, "ye made one horse after another; *i.e.*, ye made two horses".

The *ratha* mentioned in pāda d, it is thought, (see, for instance, GELDNER, *op. cit.*) is the chariot which the *Ṛbhus* themselves mounted in order to go up to heaven. It is possible however to regard the expression *upa devān ayātana* as being merely figurative (and equivalent to *devatvam ānaśa*); and one

is strongly tempted to interpret *yuktvā ratham* as 'having put together the chariot', *i.e.*, 'having made the chariot'. As we know, the making of the chariot was included in the tasks imposed upon the *Ṛbhus*. In this case, *dhītibhiḥ* would have to be construed with *yuktvā* also; and we would learn from this verse that the *Ṛbhus* made the chariot also by means of spells of truth.

(5) 1, 20, 2-5: ya indrāya vacoyujā tatakṣur manasā harī |
śamībhir yajñam āśata ||
takṣan nāsatyābhyāṃ parijmānaṃ sukhaṃ
ratham |
takṣan dhenuṃ sabardughām ||
yuvānā pitarā punaḥ satyamantrāṛjūyavaḥ |
ṛbhavo viṣṭy akrata ||
saṃ vo madāso agmatendreṇa ca marutvatā |
ādityebhiś ca rājabhiḥ ||

"Who, by means of a spell, fashioned for Indra two bay horses that yoke themselves at the word (of their master), (they) attained (to a share in) the sacrifice by means of their works.

"(They) fashioned for the Nāsatyas a chariot with a comfortable seat that goes everywhere; they fashioned a cow that yields nectar.

"The righteous *Ṛbhus*, by means of spells of truth, made their parents again youthful as (part of) the task that had to be performed by them.

"For you, accompanied by Indra attended by the Maruts and by the kingly Ādityas, did the Soma juices flow."

These verses too are addressed to the *Ṛbhus* and speak of the tasks performed by them. The four verses, so far as the sense is concerned, form but one sentence, as has already been pointed out by Skandasvāmin in his commentary; and the word *ye* of v. 2 has to be construed with the verbs of vv. 3, 4 also. Similarly, the word *manasā* of v. 2 has to be construed with *takṣan* in 3a and 3c; and since we know that the *manas*

(=*mantra*, spell) used by the *Ṛbhus* in connection with the making of the horse and the cow is a spell of truth, it follows that a similar spell was used by the *Ṛbhus* when making the chariot also.

Viṣṭī in 4c and *śamībhiḥ* in 2c refer to the five tasks imposed by the gods on the *Ṛbhus*. Of these tasks, four are mentioned in vv. 2-4 (the fifth task is mentioned in v. 6); and it is stated in v. 5 that, (in consequence of the *Ṛbhus* having performed them) the Soma streams flowed for the *Ṛbhus*, Indra attended by the Maruts and the Ādityas. The reference here is to the third *savana* or Soma-pressing and to the libations offered to these gods in that *savana*.

The epithet *ṛjūyavaḥ* 'righteous' in 4b refers, perhaps, to the honourable performance by the *Ṛbhus* of the tasks undertaken by them.

Satyamantrāḥ=satyavacanāḥ as explained by Skandasvāmin; that is, 'who employ spells of truth'. Verse 4 thus states in explicit terms that the *Ṛbhus* rejuvenated their parents by means of spells of truth. As we have seen above, it is by this means that they performed their other tasks also. The *Ṛbhus* are thus, pre-eminently, employers of *ṛta* or spells of truth; and there can be no doubt that Yāska had this fact in mind when he derived the word *ṛbhu* from *ṛtena bhānti* or *ṛtena bhavanti*.

(6) 4, 33, 10: ye harī medhayokthā madanta
indrāya cakruḥ suyujā ye aśvā |
te rāyas poṣaṃ draviṇāny asme
dhatta ṛbhavaḥ kṣemayanto na mitram ||

This verse too is addressed to the *Ṛbhus*, the feat spoken of in it being the making of two bay horses. Pāda a speaks of the *Ṛbhus* 'revelling in mantras' *i.e.*, 'speaking mantras loudly' when they made the horses; and these mantras were, as we have seen above, spells of truth. I translate therefore:

"They who, speaking spells (of truth) loudly, made for Indra by their cleverness the two bay horses that yoke themselves, may they grant us increase of riches and wealth, like those establishing a friend."

suyuj=svayuj 'self-yoking'; see VVSt. 1, 40 f.

(7) 4, 35, 4: kiṃmayaḥ svic camasa eṣa āsa
yaṃ kāvyena caturo vicakra |
athā sunudhvaṃ savanaṃ madāya
pāta ṛbhavo madhunaḥ somyasya ||

"Of what substance was that drinking cup made that ye, by means of your poem, made fourfold? Press now the liquid offering for cheer. Drink, O ye *Ṛbhus*, of the sweet drink made from the Soma plant."

This stanza too is addressed to the Ṛbhus, and speaks of their quadruplication of the drinking cup. *kāvyena* 'by the poem', in b, refers of course to the spell of truth employed by them in performing this feat. Compare in this connection the epithet *kavi* that is applied to them in AV. 6, 47, 3 explained above and in 4, 36, 7: *dhīrāso hi ṣṭhā kavayo vipaścitaḥ*.

Pāda c, *athā sunudhvaṃ savanaṃ madāya*, seems to be incongruous as an address to the Ṛbhus; on the other hand, it is an appropriate exhortation to the sacrificial priests. Hence, *sunudhvam* is interpreted in a passive sense, as 'let them be pressed for you', by OLDENBERG (*RV. Noten*, 1, 297) while GELDNER (*RV. Ueber.*) also suggests that the reference is perhaps to the Ṛbhus' pressing of the Soma juice 'in order to consecrate the four cups' newly cut by them for the use of the gods. It seems to me, however, simpler to regard c as an exhortation addressed to the sacrificial priests themselves.

(8) 4, 36, 2: rathaṃ ye cakruḥ suvṛtaṃ sucetaso
'vihvarantaṃ manasas pari dhyayā|
tān ū nv asya savanasya pītaya
ā vo vājā ṛbhavo vedayāmasi||

"The clever ones who, by thinking of a spell, made an easy-rolling chariot of unimpeded course, you, O ye Vājas, ye Ṛbhus, do we now invite to drink of this Soma libation".

This verse too is addressed to the Ṛbhus and refers to the chariot made by them. *manasas pari dhyayā=mantrasya dhyānena* 'by thinking of the spell', i.e., 'by uttering the spell'. This spell is, as we have seen above, a spell of truth.

The chariot made by the Ṛbhus was taken over by the Aśvins for their own use (cp. 1, 161, 6: *indro harī yuyuje aśvinā ratham bṛhaspatir viśvarūpām upājata*, 'Indra yoked the two bay horses and the Aśvins, the chariot; Bṛhaspati drove off the all-coloured cow'; 10, 39, 12: *ā tena yātaṃ manaso javīyasā rathaṃ yaṃ vām ṛbhavaś cakrur aśvinā* 'come, O ye Aśvins, with the chariot, swifter than thought, which the Ṛbhus made for you'; and it is interesting to note that the epithet *ṛtajāḥ* is applied to it in 3, 58, 8: *aśvinā pari vām iṣaḥ purūcīr īyur gīrbhir yatamānā amṛdhrāḥ| ratho ha vāṃ ṛtajā adrijūtaḥ pari dyāvāpṛthivī yāti sadyaḥ* "Food of many kinds, beneficent, has reached you, O ye Aśvins, from all sides, competing with hymns of praise. Your chariot that is produced from truth, being impelled by the pressing-stones, traverses heaven and earth in a moment". The word *ṛtajāḥ* in this verse has been rendered variously as 'born from time' (GELDNER, *RV. Ueber.*), 'produced by divine ordinance' (LUDWIG), 'holy' (GRASSMANN, *RV. Uber.*), and 'producer of water; or, appearing in the sacrifice' (Sāyaṇa: *ṛtasya udakasya janayitā, ṛte yajñe prādurbhavatīti vā*): these are all palpably unsatisfactory, and the real meaning of the word is, as given above, 'born from (a spell of) truth'. The chariot is called *ṛtajāḥ* because the Ṛbhus made it by means of a *ṛta* or spell of truth.

The word *avihvarantam* in b has a passive sense and is equivalent to *avihruta-gati* or *apratihata-gati* 'whose course is not impeded anywhere (in earth, air or water)'. It is thus synonymous with the epithet *parijmā* 'going on all sides, i. e., in all directions; going everywhere'[1] that is applied to the chariot of the Aśvins in 10, 39, 1: *yo vāṃ parijmā suvṛd aśvinā rathaḥ* (note the juxtaposition of *parijmā* and *suvṛt* here), in 1, 20, 3 explained above, in 4, 45, 1 and 10, 41, 1. Compare

1. Such chariots are known to classical Sanskrit literature also; compare, for instance, Raghuvaṃśa 5, 27: *Vasiṣṭha-mantrokṣaṇaja-prabhāvād udanvad-ākāśa-mahīdhareṣu| marut-sakhasyeva valāhakasya gatir vijaghne na hi tad-rathasya* and the explanation *daśasu dikṣu apratihato ratho yasya (saḥ Daśarathaḥ)* that is usually given of the name *daśaratha*.

also the description of the Asvins' chariot contained in 3, 58, 8 (explained above): *ratho ha vām......pari dyāvāpṛthivī yāti sadyah*; 1, 180, 1: *ratho yad vāṃ pary arṇāṃsi dīyat*; 4, 45, 7: *rathaḥ.....yena sadyaḥ pari rajāṃsi yāthaḥ*; 1, 180, 10: *ariṣṭanemiṃ pari dyām iyānam*; 7, 69, 1: *ā vāṃ ratho rodasī badbadhānaḥ* 7, 69, 2: *sa paprathano abhi pañca bhūma* and 7 69, 3: *vi vāṃ ratho...antān divo bādhate vartanibhyām.*

(9) 3, 60, 2: yābhiś śacībhiś camasāñ apiṃśata
yayā dhiyā gām ariṇīta carmaṇaḥ |
yena harī manasā niratakṣata
tena devatvam ṛbhavaḥ sam ānaśa ||

"Because ye, by means of spells, cut out the drinking cups, because ye, by means of a spell, made the cow come out from the hide, because ye fashioned the two bay horses by means of a spell, ye have therefore, O Ṛbhus, attained to godhead".

This verse too is addressed to the Ṛbhus and speaks of their attainment of godhead because, by means of spells, they performed the feats mentioned. *śacī* in a=*dhīḥ* in b=*manaḥ* in c; compare Nighaṇṭu 1, 11 which mentions *śacī* among the synonyms of *vāc*.

(10) 4, 35, 5: śacyākarta pitarā yuvānā
śacyākarta camasaṃ devapānam |
śacyā harī dhanutarāv ataṣ-
ṭendravāhāv ṛbhavo vājaratnāḥ ||

"By means of a spell, did ye make young your parents; by means of a spell, did ye make the drinking cup of the gods; by means of a spell, O Ṛbhus that possess the best of wealth, did ye make the two bay horses that are the best runners and carry Indra".

This verse too is addressed to the Ṛbhus; *śacī=mantra=* spell of truth.

We have finished with the verses that are concerned with the feats of the Ṛbhus; and we shall now consider some verses that are concerned with the Aṅgirases and their feats.

The Aṅgirases are a class of semi-divine beings who are sometimes described by the RV poets as 'sons of heaven', 'sons of gods' (see Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 142). More often, they are described as *pitaraḥ* 'fathers', *naḥ pitaraḥ* 'our fathers', or *naḥ pūrve pitaraḥ* 'our ancient fathers'. The principal feat mentioned in connection with them is the piercing of Vala and the freeing of the imprisoned cows. In addition, it is sometimes mentioned that they dispelled the darkness, won the Dawns, won the light, caused the sun to mount the sky, spread out the earth, etc. These feats are attributed to Indra also who is twice called *aṅgirastama* or 'chief Aṅgiras', to Indra accompanied by the Aṅgirases, to Bṛhaspati to whom too the epithet *aṅgirastama* is applied, or to Bṛhaspati accompanied by the Aṅgirases; and it hence becomes clear that in the opinion of the ṛṣis, the feats were, in fact, performed by the Aṅgirases, Indra and Bṛhaspati conjointly.

It has already been pointed out by GELDNER (*RV. Ueber.*, note on 4, 1, 13) that the word *ṛta* occurs prominently in the stanzas that refer to this myth in connection with the Aṅgirases. We shall see below that the same word *ṛta* or its equivalents occur prominently in similar circumstances in connection with Indra and Bṛhaspati also.

The following pair of stanzas is addressed to Indra; but there is a reference in the first stanza to the Aṅgirases and their rending of Vala:

(11) 10, 138, 1-2: tava tya indra sakhyeṣu vahnaya
ṛtaṃ manvānā vy adardirur valam|
yatrā daśasyann uṣaso riṇann apaḥ
kutsāya manmann ahyaś ca daṃsayaḥ||
avāsṛjaḥ prasvaḥ śvañcayo girin
ud āja usrā apibo madhu priyam|
avardhayo vanino asya daṃsasā
śuśoca sūrya ṛtajātayā girā||

"In thy companionship, O Indra, those priests, thinking of a truth (-spell), rent Vala; at which time, they gave the Dawns and let the Waters run. Thou didst also punish the *ahīs* at the prayer of Kutsa.

"Thou didst let loose the mothers, humble the mountains, drive out the cows, drink the pleasant sweet Soma, and become strong through the magical power of that tree (i.e., Soma). The sun shone by virtue of the spell born of truth".

The expression *ṛtaṃ manvānāḥ* in verse 1, pāda b, is synonymous with the expression *manasas pari dhyayā* in 4, 36, 2 explained above and signifies 'uttering a spell of truth' (see GRASSMANN, s. v. *man* 16). Compare the analogous use of the word in 1, 62, 1: *pra manmahe śavasānāya śūṣam āṅgūṣaṃ girvaṇase aṅgirasvat* "We utter, like the Aṅgirases, an invigorating hymn for the strong one who is fond of hymns"; 5, 13, 2: *agneḥ stomaṃ manāmahe sidhram adya divispṛśaḥ* 'we utter a successful song of praise for Agni who has reached up to heaven'; 7, 82, 10: *devasya ślokaṃ savitur manāmahe* 'we utter a spell in praise of god Savitṛ'.

The words *tye vahnayaḥ* in pāda a refer, as pointed out by Sāyaṇa, to the Aṅgirases, and it is said in pādas a,b,c that they by means of a spell of truth, pierced Vala, caused the Dawns to appear and released the Waters that had been shut up in Vala. The meaning of *ahyaḥ* and *daṃsayaḥ* in pāda d is obscure, and the translation given above is based on the meaning given by GRASSMANN in his *Woerterbuch*. LUDWIG too translates pāda d as 'dasz Kutsa's man gedenke und [zugleich] als zuchtiger des Ahī' and thus seems to approve Grassmann's explanation of the root *daṃs* as 'to punish'; Sāyaṇa on the other hand explains *tadānīm ahyo 'her vṛtrasya ca daṃsayaḥ karmāṇi vitathāny āsann ity arthaḥ.*

The second verse too speaks of the same deeds, namely, of the letting loose of the rivers and the rending of the mountains, and, in addition, of the driving out of the cows and the setting up of the sun in heaven; the first two deeds however are here attributed to Indra, and so is the third.

Prasvaḥ 'mothers', in pāda a, denotes the waters or the rivers; see GRASSMANN, s. v. *mātṛ* 14 and *mātṛtamā*. *śvañcayaḥ* 'didst humble', in pāda b, signifies 'didst vanquish and rend'. *vaninaḥ*, in c, refers to Soma who is often described as *vanaspati* (for references, see GRASSMANN, s. v.). Compare also

3, 40, 7: *abhi dyumnāni vanina indraṃ sacante akṣitā| pītvī somasya vāvṛdhe.* "The inexhaustible splendours of Soma go to Indra. After drinking Soma, he became strong", and note the use of *vaninaḥ* in this stanza also to denote Soma.[1] In d, the 'spell born of truth' refers, apparently, to the spell of truth uttered by the Aṅgirases; compare the words *ya ṛtena sūryam ārohayan divi* in 10, 62, 3 explained below. Or, does it, by any chance, refer to a spell of truth uttered by Indra? See the observations under 6, 39, 2 explained below.

Pādas c, d have been explained by Sāyaṇa as follows: *tathā vanino vana-sambaddhān vṛkṣān| yad vā | vanam ity udaka-nāma| tad-yuktān samudrān| avardhayaḥ vṛṣṭi-pradānena vardhayasi| ṛta-jātayā| ṛtaṃ yajñaḥ tadarthaṃ jātaṃ janma| yasyās tayā girā vedātmikayā vācā stūyamānasyendrasya daṃsasā karmaṇā" vṛṇvato vṛtrāder api nodanātmakena sūryaḥ śuśoca| nabhasi pradidīpe| yad vā| ṛta-jātayā gireti sūryasyaiva viśeṣaṇam| trayī-rūpayā vācā pradīpya ity arthaḥ| 'ṛgbhiḥ pūrvāhṇe divi deva īyate' ityādikam Taittirīyakam atrānusamdheyam* (3, 12, 9). Similarly, GRASSMANN too translates these pādas as, "Und liesst die Baeume wachsen durch des Methes Kraft; die Sonn' erglaenzte durch das fromm erzeugte Lied", and LUDWIG as, 'du verliehst gedeihen durch dises baumes wunder, er brannte die sonne durch das der weltordnung entsprechende lied'. BERGAIGNE interprets *ṛtajātā gīḥ* as 'the hymn born in order, that is, conforming to the law' (III, 245; see also II, 188 and 290).

(12) 10, 62, 2-3: ya udājan pitaro gomayaṃ vasv
ṛtenābhindan parivatsare valam|
dīrghāyutvam aṅgiraso vo astu
prati gṛbhṇīta mānavaṃ sumedhasaḥ||
ya ṛtena sūryam ārohayan divy
aprathayan pṛthivīṃ mātaraṃ vi|

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1. GELDNER, in his *RV. Ueber.*, renders *vaninaḥ* as 'wooden vessel', but in the note explains it alternatively as 'of Soma, who sits in the wood' (9, 107, 18).

suprajāstvam aṅgiraso vo astu
prati gṛbhṇīta mānavaṃ sumedhasaḥ||

"The fathers who, by means of (a spell of) truth drove out the wealth consisting of cows, and pierced Vala at the end of the year, to you, O Aṅgirases, may there be long life. Receive, O ye sagacious ones, the son of Manu.

"Who, by means of (a spell of) truth, made the sun mount the sky and spread wide mother earth, to you, O Aṅgirases, may there be good progeny. Receive, O ye sagacious ones, the son of Manu".

(13) 7, 76, 4: ta id devānāṃ sadhamāda āsann
ṛtāvānaḥ kavayaḥ pūrvyāsaḥ|
gūḷhaṃ jyotiḥ pitaro anv avindant
satyamantrā ajanayann uṣāsam||

"Those ancient fathers, poets and followers of the law, were indeed boon companions of the gods; by means of spells of truth they discovered the hidden light and engendered the Dawns".

The 'fathers' are the Aṅgirases; and the 'hidden light' discovered by them is the sun. *gūḷhaṃ jyotir anvavindan* here has the same signification as *sūryam ārohayan divi* in 10, 62, 3 explained above; and similarly, *uṣāsam ajanayan* signifies the same as *uṣaso daśasyan* in 10, 138, 1 explained above. *satya-mantrāḥ* has the force of an instrumental (=*satya-mantraiḥ*), and is equivalent to *satya-vacanāḥ* as in 1, 20, 4 explained above.

(14) 4, 3, 11-12: ṛtenādriṃ vyasan bhidantaḥ
sam aṅgiraso navanta gobhiḥ|
śunaṃ naraḥ pari ṣadann uṣāsam
āviḥ svar abhavaj jāte agnau||
ṛtena devīr amṛtā amṛktā
arṇobhir āpo madhumadbhir agne|
vājī na sargeṣu prastubhānaḥ
pra sadam it sravitave dadhanyuḥ||

"By means of a (spell of) truth did they pierce the mountain and hurled it far; the Aṅgirases roared with the cows. Pleasingly (i.e., with pleasing results, well) did the men worship the Dawn; light appeared when Agni was born.
"By means of a (spell of) truth, O Agni, did the divine, immortal, uninjuring (i.e., beneficent) Waters flow (i.e., were impelled to flow) for ever with sweetness-bearing torrents, (as swiftly) as a race-horse that is encouraged by words in races".

Hymn 4, 3 is addressed to Agni which explains the presence of the vocative *agne* in pāda c of verse 12. *Naraḥ*, in pāda c of verse 11 refers to the Aṅgirases; and Agni himself is addressed as *aṅgiras* in v. 15 of this hymn.

Pāda c of verse 11 refers to the Aṅgirases making the Dawns appear, and pāda d, to their giving light to the world. *Agnaú*, in d, refers, without doubt, to the celestial fire, that is, the sun (see in this connection BERGAIGNE, I, 22 and MACDONELL, *op. cit.*, p. 93); and the pāda thus speaks of the Aṅgirases causing the sun to be born in the sky. Verse 12 refers to the Aṅgirases' release of the Waters shut up in the mountain cave (Vala).

The statement (in pāda b of verse 11) that 'the Aṅgirases roared with the cows' is somewhat cryptic. It signifies (1) that the Aṅgirases released the cows that had been imprisoned in the mountain, and (2) that the sound made by the Aṅgirases when uttering the spell of truth was loud and was blent with that made by the imprisoned herd of cows. This, of course, is a natural consequence of the Aṅgirases being many in number; and it explains why this sound is called *rava* 'roar, shout' in 1, 71, 2 and other verses.

Compare with this pāda 1, 62, 3: *bṛ́haspátir bhinád ádriṃ vidád gā́ḥ sám usríyābhir vāvaśanta náraḥ* and 5, 45, 8: *sáṃ yád góbhir áṅgiraso navanta*; and in connection with pāda a compare 6, 17, 5: *mahā́m ádriṃ pári gā́ indra sántaṃ nutthā́ ácyutaṃ sádasaḥ pári svā́t* 'Thou, O Indra, didst remove from its place the big unshakable mountain which was encompassing (i.e., imprisoning) the cows'.

I look upon *amṛ́ktāḥ* in verse 12 as being active in meaning, and signifying 'uninjuring'; regarding the form *dadhanyuḥ*, see Oldenberg's observation in SBE. 46, p. 330.

(15) 4, 1, 13-17: asmākam atra pitaro manuṣyā
abhi pra sedur ṛtam āśuṣāṇāḥ |
aśmavrajāḥ sudughā vavre antar
ud usrā ājann uṣaso huvānāḥ ||
te marmṛjata dadṛvāṃso adriṃ
tad eṣām anye abhito vi vocan |
paśvayantrāso abhi kāram arcan
vidanta jyotiś cakṛpanta dhībhiḥ ||
te gavyatā manasā dṛdhram ubdham
gā yemānaṃ pari ṣantam adrim |
dṛḷhaṃ naro vacasā daivyena
vrajaṃ gomantam uśijo vi vavruḥ ||
te manvata prathamaṃ nāma dhenos
tris sapta mātuḥ paramāṇi vindan |
taj jānatīr abhy ānūṣata vrā
āvir bhuvad aruṇīr yaśasā goḥ ||
neśat tamo dudhitaṃ rocata dyaur
ud devyā uṣaso bhānur arta |
ā sūryo bṛhatas tiṣṭhad ajrāñ
ṛju marteṣu vṛjinā ca paśyan ||

This passage too refers to the Aṅgirases and to their rending of the mountain and freeing of the imprisoned cows. *ṛta*, therefore signifies in this connection, a '(spell of) truth' as we have seen above.

The expression *ṛtam āśuṣāṇāḥ* has been interpreted variously as *ṛtaṃ yajñaṃ āśuṣāṇāḥ aśnuvānāḥ santaḥ* (Sāyaṇa), 'aspiring after *ṛta*' (Oldenberg, SBE. 46, p. 309), 'stimulating one another in right belief'(Geldner, *RV Ueber.*), 'accelerating the sacrifice' (Ludwig), 'kindling the holy one'. (Grassmann, *RV. Ueber.*), and 'hastening to accomplish the law' (Bergaigne, I, 133).

The last five interpretations are based, without doubt, on the meanings 'adspirare, sich zu naehern suchen, erstreben, zu vollbringen suchen' assigned to āśuṣāṇāḥ by Boehtlingk and Roth in the PW and on the meanings '*schnaufen* bei

angestrengter Arbeit, *anfachen, in Taetigkeit setzen, anregen, erregen*' assigned to that word by GRASSMANN in his *Woerterbuch.* But it should be noted that the root, *śvas-śuṣ* has elsewhere only the meanings 'schnaufen, schnauben', etc., (i.e., 'to snuffle, to snort', etc.) according to these lexicographers, and that the above meanings are assigned to *āśuṣāṇāḥ* by them in connection with *ṛta* only. This is quite unjustified, and there does not seem to be any reason why the root *śvas-śuṣ* should be given here a meaning different from what it has in the majority of the RV passages. As will be shown in the article that follows, *śvas-śuṣ* signifies 'to make a loud sound' in these passages; and I accordingly interpret *ṛtam āśuṣāṇāḥ* as 'speaking a (spell of) truth loudly'.

The word *abhi praseduḥ* in v. 13b is a hap. leg., and has been explained as 'sat down' by OLDENBERG (SBE. 46, p. 308), GELDNER (*RV. Ueber.*), LUDWIG, BERGAIGNE (I. 133), and GRASSMANN (*RV. Ueber.*), and as *agnim abhilakṣya prajagmuḥ* by Sāyaṇa. Considering that the word *marmṛjata* is used of the Aṅgirases in the very next verse (pāda a), I have no hesitation in believing that it means *praseduḥ*, i.e., *prasannātmāno babhūvuḥ* 'composed their minds'. *marmṛjata*, signifies, of course, 'became pure', *śucayo babhūvuḥ*.

Compare in this connection the following observations made by BURLINGAME on pp. 432-3, l. c.: "The Act of Truth, although frequently a humdrum charm, and usually very simple, is always a formal act. Sometimes, especially in the Buddhist and Jain records, it takes on the character of a quasi-sacramental rite, and is performed with scrupulous attention to preliminary details and accompanying ceremonies. For example, a woman, about to transform herself into a man, invokes the deities as witnesses. A tiny quail, before conjuring a forest fire to turn back, *engages in solemn meditation* on the Buddhas and their acquired powers. A king and queen, intending to cross rivers on dry foot, *meditate* on the virtues of the Buddha, the Law, and the Order. A queen, intending to cross a river on dry foot, goes to the bank of the river with her retinue in ceremonial attire, and, first invoking the goddess of the river, with hands both joined, and *with a pure heart,* pronounces the magic words. . . . A woman, about to undergo the ordeal of passing between the legs of a yakṣa, before making her Act of Truth, bathes, puts on fresh garments, and

offers incense and flowers to the yakṣa. A skipper, before making an Act of Truth to avoid shipwreck, orders his fellow-mariners *to bathe him in perfumed water, clothe him in new garments*, prepare him a full bowl, and place him in the bow of the ship. He performs his Act standing in the bow of the ship, and holding the bowl in both his hands". Compare also the following passage at the beginning of the Āśvalāyana-gṛhyasūtra-pariśiṣṭa: *kartā snāto dhautānārdra-vāsā yajño-pavīty ācāntaḥ prāṅmukha āsīno dakṣiṇāṅga-kārī samāhito mantrānte karma kurvīta . . . karmaṇonta ācamanaṃ ceti sāmānyam* enjoining that the *kartṛ*, before beginning the performance of the rites known as *ṛddhi* and *pūrta* (i.e., sacramental and similar rites), should first bathe, put on washed dry clothes, wear *yajñopavīta*, sip water and be of composed mind. Similarly Āśvalāyana has said (see p. 166 of the Mysore edition of Nṛsiṃha's *Prayogapārijāta*): *ācamya cātmanaḥ śuddhiṃ kṛtvā karma samārabhet| anādeśe svayaṃ kartā sabhyā ṛtvik-purohitāḥ*; and Nṛsiṃha too writes at the beginning of the Prayogapārijāta (book of ritual for Āśvalāyana Brahmans) in the section on *Svasti-vācana-prayoga*: *atha yajamānaḥ kṛtābhyaṅgādi-kriyaḥ sv-alaṃkṛto darbha-pāṇis śucir bhūtvā.*

The word *abhi praseduḥ* in v. 13 b expresses the same idea as the word *samāhitaḥ* in the Gṛhya-pariśiṣṭa passage given above, and *marmṛjata* in v. 14 a, the same idea as the expressions *snāto dhautānārdra-vāsā yajñopavīty ācāntaḥ, ācamya cātmanaḥ śuddhiṃ kṛtvā* and *śucir bhūtvā* in the above-cited passages.

I therefore translate the passage as follows:

"Here our human fathers composed their minds; uttering a (spell of) truth loudly, they drove out the cows, good yielders of milk, that had been penned up in the mountain, in the cave, (and) the Dawns, calling (them).

"Being about to rend the mountain, they purified themselves. Others around proclaimed it. Having freed the cattle, they sang triumphantly; they won the light (after) they chanted spells.

"With mind set on cows, those men, the Uśijs, opened with divine words the fast-holding closed mountain, which encompassed and confined the cows, the solid stable full of cows.

"They uttered first the name of the milch-cow; they found the thrice-seven highest (names) of the mother. Responding to it, the females cried out. The bright one appeared with the glory of the cow.

"The raging darkness disappeared; the sky became lucent; there arose the splendour of the goddess Dawn; the sun (rose and) overlooked the wide plains, observing the straight and crooked (doings) among the mortals".

In v. 13, pāda d can also signify 'drove out the cows calling the Dawns'; and this is, in fact, the interpretation adopted by Sāyaṇa, OLDENBERG (SBE. 46, p. 309) and GELDNER (*RV. Ueber.*). Compare however 10, 68, 7: *bṛhaspatir amata hi tyad āsāṃ nāma svarīṇāṃ sadane guhā yat| āṇḍeva bhitvā śakunasya garbham ud usriyāḥ parvatasya tmanā-jat* which deals with the same myth, and which says that Bṛhaspati uttered the names of the lowing cows in the cave and drove them out of the mountain; compare also v. 15 below.

In v. 14, we do not know who the persons are that are referred to in pāda b as 'others around' (*eṣām anye abhitaḥ*). In c, I have followed Geldner (*RV. Ueber.*) in interpreting *paśvayantrāsaḥ* as 'having freed the cattle'. *yantram*= *yantraṇam*, 'confinement, restraint', and *ayantram*=freedom; I regard *paśvayantrāsaḥ* as a *vyadhikaraṇa bahuvrīhi* (*paśūnām ayantraṃ yaiḥ*) signifying 'those by whom the cattle have been freed'. Compare the expression *gā yemānam adrim* in v. 15 b. GELDNER however regards (*op. cit.*) *paśvayantrāsaḥ* as a compound of *ayantrāḥ paśavaḥ* (*yeṣām*) with *pūrva-nipata* of the latter word; and he interprets the expression as 'when their herd was freed from confinement'. For other explanations of this hap. leg., see OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, p. 313 f. and *RV. Noten*, I, 263.

Regarding v. 16 ab, compare GELDNER'S note in op. cit.: 'It is known from the ritual that the cows had individual names by which they were called; cp. VS. 8, 43; RV. 10, 169, 2; Śat. Br. 1, 7, 1, 7; and Sāyaṇa's commentary on TS, Vol. I, p. 72, 4'. See also Sāyaṇa's commentary on this verse. The 'mother' in b seems to be, not the Dawn, but the cow; see

Geldner's note on p. 374 op. cit. and compare 7, 87, 4: *triḥ sapta nāmāghnyā bibharti* 'the cow has thrice seven names'. *taj janatīḥ*, in c, means 'recognising it' that is, 'responding to it'. Regarding *vrā*, I am inclined to agree with PISCHEL (*Ved. St.*, 2, 121 ff.) that it signifies 'female'. Nearly allied to this interpretation is that of BERGAIGNE, 'woman; in particular, woman in rut, amorous woman' (*Quarante hymnes*, p. 14) and of GELDNER, 'alluring female' (*op. cit.*, note on 1, 121, 2). In d, *yaśo goḥ* is believed to refer to the milk of the cow; see GELDNER'S note in op. cit., p. 374; OLDENBERG'S translation in SBE. 46, p. 309 and note on p. 314. Perhaps, however, the genitive suffix in *goḥ* denotes *abheda*; *gor yaśasyā* would then mean *gavabhinnena yaśasā*, 'with the glory of cows', that is, 'with cows'.

dudhitam, in v. 17 a, is derived from the root *dudh* which is enumerated in the Nighaṇṭu among the *krudhyati-karmāṇaḥ* (2, 12). *dudhitaṃ tamaḥ* thus signifies 'raging darkness', that is, 'darkness that rages through the world, uncontrolled', or 'unyielding darkness' (GELDNER, *RV. Ueber.*).

The 'spells', *dhiyaḥ* mentioned in v. 14 d, and the 'divine word' (vaco daivyam) of v. 15 c seem to be identical with the *ṛta* ('spell of truth') of v. 13 b.

(16) 4, 2, 14-16: adhā ha yad vayam agne tvāyā
padbhir hastebhiś cakṛmā tanūbhiḥ|
rathaṃ na kranto apasā bhurijor
ṛtaṃ yemuḥ sudhya āśuṣāṇāḥ||
adhā mātur uṣasaḥ sapta viprā
jāyemahi prathamā vedhaso nṝn|
divas putrā aṅgirasobhave-
mādriṃ rujema dhaninaṃ śucantaḥ||
adhā yathā naḥ pitaraḥ parāsaḥ
pratnāso agna ṛtam āśuṣāṇāḥ|
śucīd ayan dīdhitim ukthaśāsaḥ
kṣāmā bhindanto aruṇīr apa vran||

"Whatever, O Agni, we have done for thee with thoughts, hands, bodies, (may it find favour with thee). Like those that, making a chariot with labour, guide it between the shafts, the sagacious ones have, uttering the (spell of) truth loudly, broadcast it.

"May we be born from mother Dawn, as the seven bards, the first worshippers among men. May we become Aṅgirases, sons of Heaven. May we, effulgent, rend the mountain containing wealth,

"speaking loudly the (spell of) truth, O Agni, like our ancient remote fathers. They attained, indeed, to pure thoughts; chanting spells, (and) cleaving the earth, they disclosed the bright ones".

Hymn 4, 2 is addressed by Vāmadeva to Agni; and in the above passage, the ṛṣi prays to Agni that he (and his companions?) may, like the Aṅgirases of old, become bards, utter spells of truth, and rend the mountains imprisoning cows.

In verse 14, pādas ab contain a relative clause with the first person plural *vayam* as subject, pāda c consists of a simile, while d contains a sentence with the third person plural *yemuḥ* as finite verb. It is the opinion of PISCHEL (*Ved. St.* 1, 240), GELDNER (*RV. Ueber.*) and LUDWIG (IV, 310) that the persons denoted by *vayam* in a and *sudhyaḥ* in d are identical, and that the third person plural *yemuḥ* represents the first person plural *yemima*. Sāyaṇa interprets *yat* in a as *yasmāt* and thus gets over the difficulty caused by *yemuḥ*, while GRASSMANN (*RV. Ueber.*) translates the verse as it stands without offering any solution of the difficulty. OLDENBERG (SBE. 46, p. 318) supplies the words 'in those deeds of ours' after the relative clause and thus makes one sentence of the four pādas.

When explaining this verse in VVSt. 1, 283, I had followed PISCHEL, GELDNER and LUDWIG and regarded *yemuḥ* as standing for *yemima*, because, at that time, I believed with them that *ṛtam*, in pāda d, signified 'law, order'. As pointed out above however, *ṛtam*, in the expression *ṛtam āśuṣāṇāḥ* signifies 'spell of truth' in 4, 1, 13. It is hardly likely that it can have another signification in the same expression in 4, 2, 14; and I am therefore disposed to believe that, as in 3, 14, 7:

tubhyaṃ dakṣa kavikrato yānīmā deva martāso adhvare akarma|
tvaṃ viśvasya surathasya bodhi sarvaṃ tad agne amṛta svadeha

(addressed to Agni), pādas ab of 4, 2, 14 also contain an incomplete sentence, and that the apodosis is lacking in both cases. In both these verses, we have to understand after the relative clause the words *taj juṣasva* (cp. 1, 75, 1: *juṣasva saprathastamaṃ vaco devapsarastamam*; 4, 9, 7: *asmākaṃ joṣy adhvaraṃ asmākaṃ yajñam aṅgiraḥ*), *taj juṣṭam astu* (cp. 1, 73, 10: *etā te agna ucathāni vedho juṣṭāni santu manase hṛde ca*), *tac cikiddhi* (cp. 4, 4, 11: *tvaṃ no asya vacasaś cikiddhi*; 5, 22, 4: *agne cikiddhy asya na idaṃ vacaḥ sahasya*) or other similar words.

Pāda c, *rathaṃ na kranto apasā bhurijoḥ*, is to be construed with pāda d, and not with pādas ab; for not only is the verb *yam* appropriate in connection with the object *ratham* (cp. 1, 119, 5: *yuvor aśvinā vapuṣe yuvāyujaṃ rathaṃ vāṇī yematur asya śardhyam*; 5, 73, 3: *īrmānyad vapuṣe vapuś cakraṃ rathasya yemathuḥ*; 1, 30, 19: *ny aghnyasya mūrdhani cakraṃ rathasya yemathuḥ*) and with the object *ṛtam* (cp. 4, 3, 9: *ṛtena ṛtaṃ niyatam īḷa ā goḥ*; 4, 23, 10: *ṛtaṃ yemāna ṛtam id vanoti*), but the making of a spell is also frequently compared by the RV poets with the making of a chariot. See in this connection 1, 94, 1: *imaṃ stomam arhate jātavedase ratham iva sam mahemā manīṣayā* "Using our intelligence, we have put together this song of praise for the worshipful Jātavedas as (carpenters put together) a chariot"; 1, 130, 6: *imāṃ te vācaṃ vasūyanta āyavo rathaṃ na dhīraḥ svapā atakṣiṣuḥ* "Desiring wealth, the Āyus have fashioned this spell for thee, as a skilled artisan does a chariot"; 4, 16, 20: *eved indrāya vṛṣabhāya vṛṣṇe brahmākarma bhṛgavo na ratham* "Thus have we made a spell for the strong excellent Indra, as Bhṛgus make a chariot"; 5, 73, 10: *imā brahmāṇi vardhanā 'śvibhyāṃ santu śaṃtamā| yā takṣāma rathāñ iva* "May these spells that we have fashioned as (carpenters do) chariots, invigorate the two Aśvins and be most acceptable to them"; 10, 39, 14: *etaṃ vāṃ stomam aśvināv akarmātakṣāma bhṛgavo na ratham* "This song of praise have we made for you, O Aśvins,

fashioned as Bhṛgus do a chariot". Compare also 1, 61, 4: *asmā id u stomaṃ saṃ hinomi rathaṃ na taṣṭeva* "I send forth this song of praise to him, as a carpenter does a chariot", in which the sending forth of the hymn is compared to the sending forth of a chariot.

Padbhiḥ, in pāda a, signifies 'with (our) minds'; see VVSt. 1, 262 ff. Regarding *bhurijoḥ*, I follow PISCHEL (*op. cit.*, p. 239 ff.) in interpreting it as 'between the two shafts'. In c, *ratham* is to be construed with both *krantaḥ* and [*yacchanti*], and similarly, *ṛtam* with both *āśuṣāṇāḥ* and *yemuḥ*.

The 'seven bards' (*sapta viprah*) or priests mentioned in verse 15a are identical with the seven seers (*sapta ṛṣayaḥ*) mentioned in 4, 42, 8 and other verses; see Macdonell, op. cit., p. 144, and GELDNER *RV. Ueber*. p. 306. They are mentioned, along with the Navagvas, in 6, 22, 2, as praising Indra, and, in all probability, formed part, like these latter, of the large group of priests known as Aṅgirases; compare the words *divas putrā aṅgiraso bhavema* in pāda c. *nṝn*, in pāda b, is equivalent to *nṛṇām* (see OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, p. 322) or *nṛṣu*. The wealth (*dhana*) spoken of in d in connection with the mountain (*adri*) is, without doubt, the cows imprisoned in it; compare the expression *gomayaṃ vasu* in 10, 62, 2 explained above.

In v. 16, the relative clause in pādas a b is regarded by OLDENBERG (SBE. 46, p. 322) as an incomplete sentence, the apodosis of which is lacking; and the words 'thus may we do the same' are supplied by him after it. GELDNER (*RV. Ueber.*) translates the verse as, "Und wie unsere ehemaligen Väter, die sich von alters zur Wahrheit aneiferten, O Agni, so mögen (jetzt) die in Liedern Redenden zu klarer (Erleuchtung), zur Erkenntnis kommen. Den Boden spaltend sollen sie die rōtlichen (Uṣas') aufdecken", and thus regards the verbs *ayan* and *apavran* as equivalent to *yantu* and *apavṛṇvantu*. All this is very unsatisfactory, and one gets over the difficulty if one regards these pādas as a continuation of the sentence *adriṃ rujema dhaninaṃ śucantaḥ* contained in pāda d of the preceding verse. The 'ancient remote fathers', are, of course, the Aṅgirases.

śucīt (Padapāṭha: *śuci it*), in c, is, in all probability (see SBE. 46, p. 322), a contraction of *śucim it*; and the pāda *śucīd ayan dīdhitim ukthaśāsaḥ* seems to have the same signification as the pāda *abhi pra sedur ṛtam āśuṣāṇāḥ* in 4, 1, 13 explained above. In pāda d, one expects *adrim* instead of *kṣāma*; see GELDNER's note in op. cit., p. 377. The 'bright ones' referred to in this pāda are either the cows, or the Dawns, or perhaps both.

(17) 6, 39, 2-4: ayam uśānaḥ pary adrim usrā
ṛtadhītibhir ṛtayug yujānaḥ |
rujad arugṇaṃ vi valasya sānuṃ
paṇīñr vacobhir abhi yodhad indraḥ||
ayaṃ dyotayad adyuto vyaktūn
doṣā vastōḥ śarada indur indra |
imaṃ ketum adadhur nū cid ahnāṃ
śucijanmana uṣasaś cakāra||
ayaṃ rocayad aruco rucāno
'yaṃ vāsayad vy ṛtena pūrvīḥ |
ayam īyata ṛtayugbhir aśvaiḥ
svarvidā nābhinā carṣaṇiprāḥ||

"Desiring the cows near the (i.e., encompassed by the) mountain, this Indra, yoker of (the spell of) truth, accompanied by those whose spells were truths, rent the unbroken back of Vala, and fought the Paṇis with spells.

"This Indu, O Indra, illumined the dark nights, in the evening and at dawn, for years. They have made him the herald of days. He made the Dawns be born in brightness.

"This (Indra), shining, made the unshining ones shine; by means of a (spell of) truth, he has caused many (Dawns) to dawn. He goes with horses that yoke themselves by means of *ṛta*, protecting the people with the navel that wins the light".

Hymn 6, 39 is addressed to Indra who, as observed above, is praised as *aṅgirastama* or 'chief Aṅgiras' by some poets. Verse 2 of the above passage refers to his rending of Vala and freeing of the imprisoned cows by means of a spell of truth

(*ṛtayuj*), and with the aid of the Aṅgirases, while v. 4 says that he made the unshining Dawns shine, set free the imprisoned Dawns, by means of a spell of truth (*ṛtena*).

In verse *2*, *ṛtadhītibhiḥ* in pāda b refers to the Aṅgirases; compare Sāyaṇa's explanation *ṛtadhītibhiḥ satya-karmabhir aṅgirobhiḥ*. The word *ṛtadhīti* is the exact equivalent of the word *satyamantra* which is used in connection with the Aṅgirases in *7, 76, 4* explained above. *ṛtayuj* = yoker of truth; i.e., employer of spells of truth; these spells are referred to as *vacobhiḥ* in pāda d. Compare in connection with it 1, 62, 4: *sa suṣṭubhā sa stubhā sapta vipraiḥ svareṇādriṃ svaryo navagvaiḥ | saraṇyubhiḥ phaligam indra śakra valaṃ raveṇa darayo daśagvaiḥ*". He, with the well-praising lauding (throng), the seven bards and the Navagvas, cleft the mountain (containing the) cows with a shout. "Thou, O mighty Indra, hast, with the Saraṇyus and the Daśagavas, cleft the cave of crystal with a roar". The words *svara* and *rava* refer to the sound produced by the utterance of spells by the Aṅgirases and their companions (Indra, Bṛhaspati, etc.).

(*To be continued.*)

THE MESSAGE OF THE GĪTĀ.*
(PHILOSOPHY OF ACTION)

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THE BHAGAVAD GĪTĀ is the most popular Hindu scripture, and its importance is second to none in the history of Hindu philosophical thought. If anything, its popularity is on the increase. It has been translated into almost all modern languages. We have prose as well as poetic versions of the translations. The greatest saint-politician of our land, Mahatma Gandhi, regards the Gītā as the "*Universal Mother.*" He clings to it as his guide through the temptations and travails of life. He goes on to assert that a true votary of the Gītā does not know what disappointment is. He concludes his estimate of the Gītā thus: "I can declare that the Gītā is ever presenting me with fresh lessons, and, if somebody tells me that it is my delusion, my reply to him would be that I should hug this delusion as my richest treasure."

It is a chapter from the Bhīṣma parva of the Mahābhārata, whose study has enraptured and ennobled the minds of men and women. Though the Gītā is a smṛti, *i.e.*, secondary scriptural authority, all the schools of Vedānta have treated it as one of the triple texts that support their respective schools. With that spirit in view they have all commented on it and refuted the commentaries of rival schools. The social reformer and the reactionary alike have claimed the Gītā as their support.

What exactly is this popularity due to? It is due to a number of causes, the foremost among them being that the Gītā view of life is within the reach of one and all of us. It shoves the metaphysical details into the background and throws into relief the philosophy of action and the need for it. What is in the focus, is its practical teaching. Throughout it breathes a spirit of

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toleration and does not rule out any type of spiritual faith. Kṛṣṇa says "whoever with true devotion worships any deity, in Him I deepen that devotion, and through it he fulfils his desire." "Those that devotedly worship other gods, they also worship me though only imperfectly". The author of the Gītā does not insist upon totalitarian loyalties, but believes that men attain their best in different ways. The toleration of the Gītā is not a mere stroke policy, it is an article of faith with Hinduism. Neither is its toleration due to a form of indifferentism. The author of the Gītā has no patience with men who have no faith. He stresses *Sraddhā* more than the performance of scripture-ordained duties.

As Prof. Hiriyanna observes, the fascinating figures, Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa, the occasion that calls forth the teaching, its simple and charming style, and the dialogue form, all go to make the Gītā a popular scripture. "The selecting of the specific situation and the concrete mode of treatment is the cause of the universal appeal of the scripture." It states very clearly the code and course of conduct that lead men on to right living. The author of the Gītā has no patience with the men who merely believe in a world that is governed by action and reaction. He denounces the men who profess that "this world is all that we see, and all that is". The talk of the impenitent rationalist is characterised as "*puṣpitāṁ vācaṁ,*' men who reel out florid texts. These fools declare, in the words of the Lord, "There is nothing else but this". Kṛṣṇa castigates the Mīmāṁsakas who believe in the letter of the Veda and the round of rituals and characterises them as "miserable ones." In the sixteenth chapter there is an elaborate account of the views of the men of no faith. Men of no faith are characterised as Asuras. They say "that the world is false and is without a moral basis and without a God, what is there that does not spring from mutual union? Lust is the cause of all." "Holding such views these souls commit cruel deeds, come forth as enemies for the destruction of the world. They give themselves up to insatiable desires, full of hypocrisy, pride and arrogance; they hold false views through delusion and act with impure resolves". The author of the Gītā is against the literalist section as well as the materialists. The indiscriminate life of self-indulgence sanctioned by the hedonist has been severely criticised. The Gītā stands for a careful cultivation of tastes

and a calculated indulgence of passions. "No god must be cheated, none overpaid". It is never in favour of self-mortification. It stood for the golden mean with steadfast faith in God. The Gītā never advocated the thwarting of instincts, but stood for their training. A harmonious integration of the various impulses of life is the call of the scripture.

The Gītā view of life can be defined as a revolutionary type of idealism, which estranges the revolutionary by its idealism, and the conservative by a drastic revaluation of the earthly goods.[1] Terms like *Yajña* (sacrifice), *Karma* (action), *Jñāna* (knowledge), *Saṁnyāsa* (renunciation), etc., are interpreted afresh by the Gītā. *Yajña* in the Gītā does not mean animal sacrifice, nor the sacrifice of merely material objects but all activities prompted by a spirit of sacrifice. *Karma* does not mean mere mechanical action done for the achievement of some objects herein or hereafter, but action performed without the desire of the fruit. The *Jñāna* of the Gītā is not merely intellectually mediated knowledge that does not result in spiritual realisation, but is that immediate knowledge which is *Brahman* itself. The *Saṁnyāsa* of the Gītā is not the giving up of the activities as such and retiring from society. It is the giving up of the desire for the fruits and the sense of egoity in respect of any action performed by us. It is *phala saṁnyāsa* and not *karma saṁnyāsa*.

It is the insistence of the performance of one's own duty prescribed by his station,—"My station and my duty"—that is the fundamental message of the Gītā. In short, the central message of the scripture is *Karma yoga*, a life of disinterested activity. The entire Gītā is a description of that *Karma yoga*. What is it like and what is it not? B.G. Tilak has named the message of the Gītā as the Philosophy of Energism, i.e., of action.

In the history of Hindu thought two paths to perfection are recorded. They are respectively called the nivṛtti mārga and the pravṛtti mārga. The ideal of nivṛtti mārga advocated the giving up of all karma and the withdrawing from the work-a-day world. This is the negative ideal of renunciation. According to Śrī Śaṅkara the Gītā teaching has for its final

1. Cf Author's article on *The Religion of the Gītā*, Journal of the Madras University, Vol XI, No 2.

purport renunciation. Mokṣa can be realised only by Jñāna, and not by any other method, 'nānyaḥ panthāḥ'. So the path of action at best can produce only further bondage, and bondage has the tendency to envelop the soul. Further, Mokṣa according to Śaṅkara is not something to be produced, it is there. So at best *Karma* or the path of active life can lead to *ātma śuddhi*, cleansing of the heart and not directly to Mokṣa. There are no two direct paths to Mokṣa. The *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti mārgas* are not discontinuous, one leads us on to the other. Further Śaṅkara explains the emphasis of the Gītā on Karma in the light of Arjuna's eligibility for it. Arjuna needs the cleansing of the Ātman, he is an unenlightened soul and as such he is only fit for Karma yoga. Wherever the Gītā speaks of *Karma yoga* in extravagant terms it has to be understood in terms of the response to Arjuna's needs. It is in this light that all the verses in the Gītā that speak high of *karma* are interpreted by Śaṅkara. He makes the path of works subservient to the path of renunciation.[1]

It has to be pointed out here that a growing section of Advaitins believe that there is no need to contrast jñāna, bhakti and karma, to the disadvantage of anyone of them. Short of Brahman realisation every method is within the jurisdiction of Māyā and as such there seems to be no need to stress the superiority of jñāna over karma and bhakti. Even Brahman knowledge is not Brahman. *Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastriar in his address as the President of the Section of Philosophy and Religion at the All India Oriental Conference, Trivandrum*, observes[2] "that spiritual realisation may come through spiritual analysis or through the melting of the heart in devotion or through self-surrender in service. This is not an innovation due to Western impact . . . . All this because of an ancient prejudice against emotions and will. The melting of the heart in love is not less noble than the expansion of it in wisdom and the transcendence of the gulf between seen and seen in knowledge. The unity appears in and breaks through the multiplicity, every moment in emotion and volition no less than in

1. For a detailed account of the Gītā on the lines laid down by Śaṅkara refer to Dr. T.M.P. Mahadevan's article on the *Two-fold Path in the Gītā*, Philosophical Quarterly, January, 1941.

2. *An Advaitin's plea for continuity*, Journal of the Madras University.

intellection. One of these is not more sacrosanct than others. And the Philosophy of Non-dualism should look for integrative synthesis rather than intellectual dominance."

With acute insight, massive erudition and rare persuasive skill, Tilak, in the *Gītā Rahasya* makes out the case for the Philosophy of Action with great success and gives us a brilliant account of the *Pravṛtti mārga*. Taking the texts by and large one gets the impression that the Gītā insists on the performance of action with a devout frame of mind. The texts that speak of renunciation as the method to attain Mokṣa are very few. They are: "He whose mind is unattached everywhere who is self-subdued, and from whom desire has fled he attains by renunciation to the supreme transcending all works" (XVIII-48). "Knowledge as a sacrifice is superior to all material sacrifices, O Arjuna. For all works with no exception culminate in knowledge" (IV-33). "As the fire which is kindled reduces all fuel to ashes, O Arjuna, so does the fire of knowledge reduce all works to ashes" (IV-37). There are other texts that point out that the released soul has no duties *'tasya kāryam na vidyate'* (III-17)." Excepting for these few texts the rest of the Gītā is an exaltation of the philosophy of action.

The philosophy of action or karma yoga is not very easy to understand. "What is work and what is no work—even the wise are perplexed here", says the Gītā. What exactly is this karma yoga of the Gītā? It combines the excellences of the *pravṛtti* and the *nivṛtti mārgas*.[1] It insists on the discharge of the social obligations arising out of the station one occupies in life. It insists that we have to recognise a charter of duties before we claim our bill of rights. It insists on the performance of duties at all costs, and never countenances dereliction from action. It is against the non-performance of action. The Gītā says "No man can ever be free from a life of action by merely avoiding active work; and no man can ever reach perfection through mere renunciation." For no man can sit still even for a moment, but does some work. Every one is driven to act, in spite of himself, by the impulses of nature" (III-4 and 5). "It is indeed impossible for any embodied being to abstain from work absolutely (XVIII-11). Thus after making out a case for the impossibility of inaction he goes on

1. Prof. Hiriyanna's *Outlines of Indian Philosophy* p. 126-129.

to describe the mental frame with which we have to act. Act we must, and there is no choice from action. *We are asked to, act with a frame of mind that has no utilisation motive. We are exhorted to renounce the fruit of activity together with the sense of egoity.* Act with no sense of agency or attachments to the fruit of action. It is not action that is binding but the sense of attachment to the fruits of the action and the sense of egoity. Every one of our activities must be construed as an offering at the feet of God. The Karma yoga of the Gītā discovers the golden mean between the two ideals of *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti* preserving the excellences of both. While it does not abandon activity, it preserves the spirit of renunciation, "Work alone art thou entitled to, and, not to its fruit. So never work for fruit, nor yet desist from work" (II, 47). "Know that what they call renunciation is the same as yoga, O Arjuna, for no one who has not renounced his desires can ever become a yogin (VI, 2). The Karma yoga of the Gītā does include the element of renunciation. "But renunciation of any duty that ought to be done is not right. The abandonment of it through ignorance is declared to be of the nature of dullness" (XVIII-7). "Works of sacrifice, gifts and penance should not be given up, but should be performed. For sacrifice, gifts and penance purify the mind", these are works that should be done is my decided and final view, says Kṛṣṇa (XVIII, 5 and 6). "But he who gives up the fruit of work is regarded as one who has renounced". The renunciation of the fruits of the action and not action as such is the pith of the Gītā teaching. Such an action is tantamount to inaction. Hence the paradoxical verse in the Gītā, "He who sees no work in work, and work in inaction, he is wise among men, he is a yogin, and he has accomplished all his work" (IV-18).

The Karma yoga of the Gītā commends us to lead a strenuous life and yet gives no room for the play of the selfish impulses. In short, it implies that every action we do must be motivated to secure Iśvara prīti, and must discard the sense of egoity and the desire for the fruit of all action. The predominant note of the Gītā is one of devotion to the Lord. Lord Kṛṣṇa says that all action should be surrendered at his feet. "Fly to me alone for shelter with all thy soul, O Arjuna, by my grace shall thou gain supreme peace and the everlasting abode". "Fix thy mind on me, be devoted to me, prostrate

thyself before me. So shalt thou come to me. I promise this truly for thou art dear to me". "Surrendering all duties come unto me alone for shelter. Do not grieve, for I will release thee from all sins". "Surrender all thy works and fight—with thy mind in unison with the spirit and free from every desire and trace of self and all thy passions spent". After explaining at such length the doctrine of *Śaraṇāgati* i.e., self-surrender to God, the Gītācārya dogmatically lays down his final view thus: "Those who full of faith ever follow this teaching of mine and do not carp at it—they too are released from works." "But those who carp at my teaching and do not act thereon know that, that such senseless men blind to all wisdom are lost." With this frame of mind we are exhorted to act. It is this aspect of devotion and self-surrender that Śrī Rāmānuja has stressed in his commentary on the Gītā. The ideal Bhakta who has realised God is described in three distinct places. In the second chapter we have the first of the descriptions of the realised soul (II, v. 55-72). But we should not forget that Arjuna asked Kṛṣṇa to describe the way of life led by a man of steadfast wisdom. How does he act? How does he sit? and How does he walk? All these questions of Arjuna presuppose that the man of steadfast wisdom is not exempt from karma. The last seven verses of the twelfth chapter give us the description of the ideal Bhakta and again the 14th chapter describes in its concluding verses the nature of the God-realised soul. All these descriptions do not absolve the realeased soul from indulging in karma.

The Gītā commends this path of action and prefers it to the path of renunciation. *When Arjuna asks Kṛṣṇa to tell him for certain which is the better of the two paths, renunciation of works or their self-less performance, Kṛṣṇa replies: that of the two, performance of the works is better than their renunciation* (V. 2). On another occasion he says: "to work is better than desisting from work". Arjuna is thus exhorted to activity and reasoned into it. Further the author of the Gītā adds that even an enlightened soul must act with a view to the preservation of the world. Men like King Janaka have attained Mokṣa through the path of works. Lord Kṛṣṇa cites himself as an example of one taking to the path of action. Thus the author of the Gītā brought Arjuna to the path of action by asking him to take to the path of duty as the way

to salvation. Arjuna endorses the view and acts up to it. He says, "My delusion is gone, I have come to myself by thy grace. O Kṛṣṇa, I stand free from doubt, *I will act according to thy word*". He did act according to it. The Gītā inculcates in us the view that we have a right to action only and not to the fruits thereof and that success and failure are one and the same thing at bottom. "It calls upon us to dedicate ourselves body, mind and soul to pure duty and not to become mental voluptuaries at the mercy of chance desires and undisciplined impulses." The kingdom of Heaven conceived by the Gītā is not a realm of pure mystical experience unconnected with concrete human relationship. It is not an unearthly, conceptual realm, but a just and a happy social order.

SELECT OPINIONS

Hermann Jacobi, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, 14th December, 1926.—I have perused your new Journal of Oriental Research with great interest. I heartily wish you success in your meritorious undertaking.

L. D. Barnett, School of Oriental Studies, London, 19th December, 1926.—It seems to me to be a good beginning to the enterprise which I hope will be very successful. Some of the matter is very good indeed.

J Jolly, Wurzburg, Germany, 20th December, 1926.—This evidently is a periodical of great promise, with every chance of success.

O Strauss, Professor of Sanskrit, Kiel University, 1st January, 1927.—Being very well pleased with the first number of your Journal of Oriental Research I ask you to enrol me as a subscriber.

Sir Richard Temple, Editor, Indian Antiquary, London, 6th January 1927.—Your excellent Issue.

F. O. Schrader, Kiel, 9th January, 1927.—I have read with absorbing interest through the first number and find its contents quite satisfactory. . . . . A journal of this kind has been undoubtedly a need in Madras since long.

Dr. Wilhelm Printz, Librarian, D. M. G. Halle, 14th January, 1927.— . . . . This fascicle contains many very interesting and scholarly articles: a very pretty start!

"Bombay Chronicle," 12th December, 1926.— . . . . The Quality of scholarship displayed is of a high order.

"Indian Review," November, 1927.—We welcome this new Quarterly of Oriental Research. . . . . The influence of Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri, the Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in Presidency College, has been ceaselessly exercised in furthering the cause of such learning. . . . . .

"New India," 20th December, 1926,— . . . . The design and the get-up of the Journal is very good, and we recommend the Journal to all lovers of research and scholarship.

"Hindu," 9th February, 1927.— . . . . . The Journal will not merely maintain the high level reached in its first number but frequently transcend itself.

"Madras Mail," 21st January, 1927.— . . . . The contributions are from persons who have specialised in particular branches and show striking evidence of original work. . .

Dr. Sylvain Levi, Paris.— . . . . It deals with so many sides of Indian Science, and in such an interesting way. What I like most in it, is its genuine and regular Indian flavour, it proper 'Rasa'. Many of your contributors, if not all of them, know how to combine Pandit-learning and Western standards.

Dr. H. Luders, Berlin University.— . . . . I was greatly impressed with the high standard of scholarship, the originality of thought and the soundness of critical methods displayed in your contributions. . .